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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: AN INTER-GENERATIONAL EXAMINATION OF UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS OBSERVANCES IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA

by

Anne Marechko - Sochan

©

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Ukrainian Folklore with Notation of Specialization

in East European and Soviet Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1992

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AMarechko-Sochan

Anne Marechko-Sochan
6061 Village Bend Drive #913
Dallas, Texas, U.S.A. 75206
(214) 691-7216

19 Feb 1992

Date submitted to Graduate Studies

Zaraz tobi rozpovim pro talant
i pro zvychaii rusiv stylem
lehkym, i vony bil'she
zdyvuiut' tebe . . .

Let me tell you of the talent and of
the customs of the Rus' people in
a gentle style - and they will
increasingly amaze you . . .

Sebastian Klenovych (16th century Polish-Ukrainian poet)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: AN INTER-GENERATIONAL EXAMINATION OF UKRAINIAN CHRISTMAS OBSERVANCES IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA submitted by ANNE MARECHKO - SOCHAN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE with Notation of Specialization in EAST EUROPEAN AND SOVIET STUDIES.

B Medwidsky

Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky, Supervisor,
Department of Slavic and East
European Studies

Andriy Nahachewsky

Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky, Department
of Slavic and East European Studies

John-Paul Himka

Dr. John-Paul Himka, Department of
History

February 5, 1992

Date

To Andrij and Carl - whose lives and experiences in Canada inspired this study. It is in their memory that this work is dedicated.

ABSTRACT

The Ukrainians who emigrated from Austrian administered Galicia at the turn of this century, did so with an inherited legacy of customs, traditions, practices and beliefs - of which Christmas observances were a vital part. Many of these immigrants settled in East Central Alberta and were subsequently able to transpose their Ukrainian heritage to Canada. Indeed, they were also able to transmit that heritage to their succeeding generations born here. This study focuses on the domestic and community observances of the Ukrainian Winter Calendar Customs associated with Advent or " Pylypivka ", Christmas or " Rizdvo ", New Year's or " Novyi Rik " and the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan " as they occured within five families whose oldest surviving members were part of the first wave of Ukrainian immigration - arriving in this area prior to the outbeak of the First World War. It was observed, that in transposing the village Christmas observances from the counties of Chortkiv and Sniatyn to East Central Alberta during the homesteading, and subsequently during the established farming periods, as well as, throughout the process of transmitting those observances to the younger generations born in Canada, three trends emerged. First, the observances and celebrations became increasingly familial in nature. Second, the social aspects of those observances and celebrations became increasingly organized in practice - including the religious aspects associated with them. And third, in the continuity and changes which occured in the observance and celebration of these Christmas customs and traditions in East Central Alberta, the oral aspects were almost completely lost.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

" Tradition " as defined by Webster's is " . . . the handing down of information, beliefs and customs by word of mouth or by example from one generation to another without written instruction . . . ".[1] Ukrainian tradition in Canada, it follows, could be interpretted as the handing down of specific information, beliefs and customs from the first Ukrainian immigrant generations who arrived in Canada at the turn of this century, to their descendants by word of mouth or by example without written instruction, and subsequently, practised by Ukrainian Canadians today. In Canada, there are over half a million Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin, of which, approximately twenty-five percent live in the province of Alberta.[2] Who are the Ukrainian Canadians? How do they live? What do they believe in? What are their customs and practices? How has their history in Canada evolved? Why? This study will address (admittedly, in a very limited way) mostly one of these questions, namely, the question of customs and practices. Specifically, it will examine the transposition and inter - generational transmission of Ukrainian Christmas observances within five families in East Central Alberta. Attention will be paid to the actual beliefs and practices, both past and present, in the country of origin as well as in Western Canada, within the selected families and which of these beliefs and practices have been maintained, eliminated and/or modified upon their re-establishment in the new country of residence.

---

[1] Webter's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield: G. & C. Merrian Company, 1977), p. 1238.

[2] Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada - Population by Ethnic Origin (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984), pp. 1-5,1-6 states that as of 1981, there were 529,615 Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin of which 136,710 lived in Alberta.

Background

Ukrainians first arrived in Western Canada in the fall of 1891 when Ivan Pylypiw and Vasyl' Eleniak left their native village of Nebyliw, Galicia to reconnoitre a vast expanse of land they had heard so much about from their German colonist friends who had relatives who had emigrated to Western Canada a few years before.[1] Pylypiw and Eleniak were quite impressed with what they saw, so much so, that Eleniak decided to stay in Western Canada while Pylypiw returned to his village in Western Ukraine to prepare his family for emigration to Canada, as well as, to spread the news about Canada to his neighbours. Pylypiw's arrival in Nebyliw early in 1892 with his news of 160 acre parcels of free land granted to homesteaders created a sensation providing many of his neighbours the incentive to emigrate to Canada.[2] His news however, did not remain restricted to his own village. It quickly spread to the surrounding villages, areas, counties and provinces in Austro-Hungarian administered Ukraine. In 1894, Pylypiw returned to Western Canada with his family and settled in the Edna - Star area of what is today East Central Alberta.[3]

---

[1] Vladimir Kaye and Frances Swiripa, "Settlement and Colonization" in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 36.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Op. cit., p. 37.

Most of the Ukrainians who emigrated to Canada were from the Austrian crownlands of Bukovyna and Galicia.[1] Within the Austro-Hungarian Empire generally, and within the provinces of Bukovyna and Galicia specifically, conditions for the average Ukrainian peasant deteriorated - economically, politically and socially. Socially, he was considered a " second-class " citizen in his own homeland. Under the minority controlled administrations of the Poles in Galicia and the Romanians in Bukovyna, he was deprived of adequate education, was overtaxed, and was politically underrepresented. Land scarcity and familial property subdivision had reached its zenith.[2] In addition, the overpopulation in the rural areas was combined with extremely low seasonal labour wages for those who ventured beyond their villages to supplement their families' subsistence lifestyle.[3] The reasons then, for risking emigration were obvious. Essentially, they were due to the typically poor living conditions that most Ukrainian villagers experienced.[4]

---

[1] John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914" in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 11.

[2] For an excellent comparitive description of a Russian peasant household at the turn of the 20th century with respect to family membership, economic activity and subsistance lifestyle, see " A Russian Peasant Household at the Turn of the Century " in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies (Markham: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 30-36.

[3] John-Paul Himka, Op. cit., pp. 12-19. For another excellent overview of the typical lifestyle of Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary at the turn of this century see " Halychyna, Bukovyna, Uhorskaia Rus' " (Galicia, Bukovyna, Trans-Carpathian Rus') in Ukrainskaia zhyzn' (Ukrainian Life), (Moscow: K.K. Hausmann, 1915).

[4] See also " Economic Life " in Samuel Koenig, The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia A Study of Their Culture and Institutions (Yale University: Doctoral Dissertation, 1935), pp. 119-260 for a discussion on the impoverished economic conditions under which the typical Ukrainian family lived in Galicia at the turn of this century.

Despite the adverse conditions in which the Ukrainian peasants found themselves in Austria-Hungary during the closing years of the 19th century, a number of grassroots movements emerged within the Ukrainian provinces aimed at improving general conditions. Enlightenment societies known as " Prosvity " and reading rooms or " Chytal'ni" emerged to organize, teach and generally inform the Ukrainian peasant - particularly in the areas of education, political awareness and in the creation of economic co-operatives.[1] Due to the influence of these self-help societies (through the circulation of printed media within them) in the Austrian crownlands and in particular, and due to the efforts of Dr. Josef Oleskiw (a professor of agriculture at the University of Lviv at that time)[2], a massive outflow of Ukrainian peasants to Western Canada began in the closing years of the 1890's and continued until the outbreak of the First World War.[3]

The first Ukrainian families who came to Western Canada went to those areas where they already knew German speaking settlers from their native village areas in Austrian administered Ukraine. In Alberta, that area was just east of Bruderheim, in Edna - Star. In time, this area grew to become the largest bloc settlement (in area, though not in population) of Ukrainians outside Ukraine. Eventually, it encompassed most of East Central Alberta from Edmonton to the Saskatchewan border along the North Saskatchewan River. The town of Wainwright became its southern point, the town of Bonnyville became its northern point and the town of Vegreville eventually emerged as its centre.[1]

---

[1] John-Paul Himka, Op. cit., pp. 14-24. See also John-Paul Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine" in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), and, " Communal Life and Organization " in Koenig, Op. cit., pp. 515-538.

[2] Vladimir Kaye and Frances Swiripa, Op. cit., pp. 38-41. In particular, Dr. Oleskiw's publications "About Free Lands" and "About Emigration" recommended Western Canada as the destination of choice for those Ukrainians emigrating from Austria-Hungary.

[3] It must also be noted that Dr. Oleskiw's counterpart in Russian administered Ukraine, a Dr. V. Korol'ov (then a professor of veterinary medicine at the the University in Kiev) also advocated Western Canada as a destination of choice for those wishing to emigrate to alternative territories beyond the frontiers of land being opened up in Eastern Siberia. For further information see V. Korol'ov, Ukraintsi v Amerytsi (Kiev: Prosvita, 1909), pp. 56-84.

The Ukrainians who arrived in Alberta prior to World War I came from various socio-economic backgrounds. Many arrived financially equipped to begin homesteading, while many others came with only the clothes they wore.[2] Certainly, they were the most unusual immigrants that prairie Western Canada had experienced to date. They were neither Anglo-Celtic, North-West European, American, nor were they from Central Canada. Their Eastern European customs and traditions differed markedly from the fairly homogenous English-speaking host society of Western Canada. Their language was Slavic. They dressed differently. They followed an Orthodox religious rite. They followed the Julian Calendar. The family and holiday celebrations - when celebrated - also differed from that of their neighbours. Their food and diet were strange. Even their political orientation was populist-leftist![3] As a result of these and other differences which distinguished Ukrainian settlers from their predominantly Anglo-Celtic neighbours, both the Ukrainian settlers and Canadian government land agents desired and encouraged these new immigrants to settle in bloc communities. It was acknowledged that such settlements were generally more successful because the social and spiritual needs of the young community were more easily provided for and the co-operation between settlers was usually better that in ethnically mixed areas. While the government was aware that the encouragement of bloc settlement retarded the assimilative process, it realized on the other hand, that it facilitated an efficient and cost effective administration. As a result, the various government facilities that were required, were located out of only one area.[1]

---

[1] Vladimir J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895-1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 319-360.
[2] Vladimir J. Kaye, Op cit., p. 95.
[3] Vladimir Kaye and Frances Swiripa, Op. cit., pp. 42-45.

It is the above-stated differences, particularly as they relate to Ukrainian customs, practices and observances in Canada that interest the student of Ukrainian Canadian Folklore. The Bukovynian and Galician Ukrainians who came to Alberta at the turn of this century brought with them a unique and contextually rich heritage of both Calendar and Life-Cycle Customs. As in most world societies described by Arnold Van Gennep in his Rites of Passage[2], Ukrainians had major celebrations for the three main events in the life cycle, namely birth, marriage and death. Similarly, not unlike most Christian societies as described by James G. Frazer in his The Golden Bough[3], Ukrainians also celebrated the important winter and spring holidays, namely Christmas and Easter. Given, that the Ukrainians arrived in Alberta with their inherited legacy of customs, beliefs, practices and observances, and settled in relatively (linguistic) homogenous blocs of communities, it is reasonable to expect that their traditions will have been transposed to Canada, and subsequently transmitted to their succeeding generations born in Canada. This study will focus on the first implants of the Ukrainian Winter Calendar Customs associated with Christmas or " Rizdvo " in East Central Alberta among the oldest family members who were part of the first wave of Ukrainian immigration - arriving in East Central Alberta before the outbreak of the First World War. Subsequently, this study will also focus on the retained and/or modified Christmas observances continued by their children. By tracing the developments in the celebration of these particular calendar customs within specific family lines, it will be possible to identify examples, occurances and trends regarding the continuation, modification or elimination of these observances within the given family repertoires. In addition, valuable socio-historic contextual information shared by the families of personal experiences, views, and interpretations of events, will provide an insight into the development and evolution of the various customs discussed.

---

[1] Vladimir Kaye and Frances Swiripa, Op. cit., p. 46.
[2] Arnold van Gennep, Rites of Passage (Chicago: The Univesity of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. vi-x.
[3] Theodore H. Gaster, ed., The New Golden Bough (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), pp. xxi-xxiii.

Outline

This study is primarily based on the data provided by 20 informants who still resided within the primarily Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta. These informants were comprised of five First Wave Ukrainian immigrants (that is, having arrived in East Central Alberta prior to the start of the First World War) and fifteen of their children. The research and literature reviews for this study are discussed in Chapter One. The areas surveyed are divided into three sub-groupings: Ukrainian ethnography relating to calendar customs;

Ukrainian Canadian ethnography relating to calendar customs; and, Related references which include calendar custom information. Chapter Two describes the recollected turn of the century Christmas preparations and observances within the native village areas of Chortkiv and Sniatyn at the the time of emigration. Chapter Three describes the recollected Christmas preparations and observances during the initial homesteading period in East central Alberta. Chapter Four describes the recollected Christmas preparations and observances which took place during the (established) farming period in East Central Alberta. Chapter Five summarizes the evolutionary progress made by these families in their preparations for and observance of *Rizdvo* . This discussion is described and schematicized utilizing a Systems Theoretical Framework. The characteristics, observations and trends identified within this examination of the evolution of Ukrainian *Rizdvo* celebrations within the repertoires of the families studied in Chapters Two, Three and Four, are discussed and summarized within this Systems context - providing at the same time the conclusion to the study at hand.

Methodology

A Case Study approach is used in presenting the information of this study. Fieldwork consisting of interviews with 20 members of five families originating from East Central Alberta provide the primary sources for this examination (see Appendix). Over 75 tape recorded interviews were conducted in the family homes of the informants from November 1985 to October 1986. All of the informants resided in the study area of East Central Alberta. Most family members consented to the interviews, however, three individuals refused. Wherever possible, secondary sources were used to supplement primary data. All of the informants were questioned about their recollections of *Rizdvo* observances while they were growing-up in their parents' families and how they celebrated those same observances when they married with their new families*. While it can be argued that five families hardly constitute a representative statistical sample of study, these families, nonetheless, are representative of the family systems and community life left behind in Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties in Austrian administered Eastern Galicia, and are members of the family systems and community life of East Central Alberta. The observations and conclusions drawn from these families' experiences provide not only an insight into the evolution of Ukrainian life and lifestyle in Western Canada, but also provide a number of possible interpretations and/or explanations which can account for the generalized trends observed in transplanting Ukrainian *Rizdvo* observances to Western Canada, as well as, the inter-generational transmission of Ukrainian customs and traditions from the pioneers to their children in East Central Alberta as a whole.

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* For a list of the informants and the questionaire used in conducting the interviews, please turn to the Appendices section at the end of this study.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Inter - generational family studies which focus on the evolution of Ukrainian Calendar Customs in Canada do not exist. There are however, many resources, both scholarly and lay, from various disciplines, which when investigated and integrated, create an interpretive chronology of the evolution of Ukrainian traditional cultural practices and beliefs in Canada from the arrival of the first immigrant generations to the present. Published and unpublished works from three major areas* contribute to the present study by providing a base with which actual case studies will be compared and discussed. The first area comprises Ukrainian ethnographic material describing the calendar customs of *Rizdvo* as they were practiced and observed in Ukraine at the turn of this century. This information provides a representation of the actual practices and beliefs left behind by the emigrants leaving Austrian administered Ukraine prior to World War I. The second area comprises Ukrainian Canadian ethnographic material describing the calendar customs of *Rizdvo* as they were practiced and observed in Canada from the turn of this century to the present. This information provides intermittent " snapshot " representations of practices and beliefs transplanted to Western Canada. The third area comprises related Ukrainian Canadian references which contain within them references to *Rizdvo* practices and beliefs in Canada. In addition, relevant studies focusing on ethnic groups from Eastern Europe now resident in Canada and the United States of America are included in this area of review.

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* These references are by no means exhaustive. Many more reference works exist, however, many were unobtainable at the time of writing by the author, while many others, went beyond the scope of this study.

Ukrainian Ethnography Relating to Calendar Customs

The first area of literature and research directly applicable to this study is that of the observance of *Rizdvo* in Ukraine itself at the turn of this century. In this respect, Oleksander Andrievs'kyi's Bibliohrafia literatury z ukrains'koho folkloru[1] is invaluable as a bibliographic finding aid in locating materials published on Ukrainian Ethnography to 1916. As evidenced in its entries, a wealth of information exists regarding the Calendar Customs of *Rizdvo* .[2] The following represents a partial exploration of the material available.

While Ukrainian Calendar Customs provided poets with textual topics for their works as early as the 16th century (such as Sebastian Klenovych's Roksoliana[3]), it was not until the 19th century that Ukrainian *Rizdvo* and *Velykden'* observances were collected, collated and published for general Ukrainian readership. The pioneers credited with these first ehtnographic inclusions within larger folk collections are the

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[1] Oleksander Andrievs'kyi, Bibliohrafia literatury z ukrains'koho folkloru (A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore), (Kiev: Ukrains'ka Akademia Nauk, 1930).

[2] Op. cit., pp. 697-734.

[3] Sebastian Fabian Klenovych, " Roksoliana " in V.V. IAremenko, ed., Ukrains'ka poezia XVI stolittia (Ukrainian Poetry of the 16th Century), (Kiev: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1987), pp. 113–167. In Part VII of this poem written in 1584, he describes the restrictions and observances associated with Velykyi Pist (Lent).

" Rus'ka Triitsia "+ with their Rusalka Dnistrovaia (The Dneister River Water Nymph) and Panteleimon Kulish in his Zapysky o IUzhnoi Rusy (Notes on Southern Rus') - which were distributed in Austro-Hungarian administered Ukraine and Russian administered Ukraine respectively. Seven " koliadky " (Christmas carols) without melodies are included in Rusalka Dnistrovaia[1], and two " shchedrivky " (New Year's Carols) with melodies are included in Zapysky o IUzhnoi Rusy.[2] One of the earliest attempts to document actual Ukrainian Calendar Customs was published by M. A. Maksymovych in his Sobranie Sochynenii (Collected Works) Vol. II. In the section titled " Dni i misiatsi ukrainskaho selianina "[3] (The Days and Months of the Ukrainian Villager), " Velykyi Pist " (Lent) and " Velykden' " (Easter) as observed within Dnipro River village communities are cursorily described as activities occuring during the months of March and April. The feast days of " Evdokhia " (Eudoxia), " Sorok Sviatykh " (Forty Martyrs), " Teploho Oleksy " (Warm Alexis), " Blahovishchennia " (Annunciation), " Verbna Nedilia " (Palm Sunday), *Velykden'* and " Providna Nedilia " (First Sunday after Easter) are described. In addition, more than a dozen *vesnianky* texts without melodies are included.

+ The " Rus'ka Triitsia " (The Ruthenian Triad) was a small group of seminarians in Lviv who emerged as the leading edge of the romantic movement in Western Ukrainian literature in the mid-1800's. They were Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vahylevych and IAkiv Holovatskyi.

[1] Markian Shashkevych, et al., Rusalka Dnistrovaia (The Dniester River Water Nymph), (Budapest: The King's Printer, 1837), pp. 36–44 and 71–72.

[2] Panteleimon Kulish, Zapysky o IUzhnoi Rusy (Notes on Southern Rus') Vol. II, (St. Petersburg: Aleksander Jacobson, 1856), pp. 211–213 and 218–221.

[3] M.A. Maksymovych, " Dni i misiatsi ukrains'kaho selianyna " in Sobranie Sochynenii (Collected Works), (Kiev: M.P. Fritz, 1877), pp. 464–481.

The first serious study to describe Ukrainian *Rizdvo* observances in Austro-Hungarian Ukraine was published in the Polish language - authored by the well known Polish ethnographer Oskar Kolberg in Volume I of his three volume series Pokucie[1] (Pokuttia). Pokuttia was the south-eastern area of the then Austrian province of Galicia in which the subject counties of Chortkiv and Sniatyn were located. In the section entitled " Zwyczaje "[2] (Customs), Kolberg devotes more than half of this volume to describing the important calendar cbservances in this region. The observances and celebrations surrounding " Pylypivka " (Advent), " Sviatoho Andreia " (St. Andrew's), *Rizdvo* , " Koliada " (Carolling), " Malanka " (Melanie), " Novyi Rik " (New Year's), and, " Iordan " (The Feast of Jordan) are described in detail. In addition, numerous song texts with melodies of *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* are included. Not to be overlooked, Kolberg's posthumous collections Rus Czerwona and Rus Karpacka also provide an abundance of information on Ukrainian calendar customs in Galicia. Rus Czerwona (Red Ruthenia) refers to the ancient name of the area now comprising Eastern Galicia. In the two volume collection Rus Czerwona[3], Kolberg presents the excess material on Galicia not included within his previous works on the various areas of Galicia. Here, material concerning the county of Chortkiv is included. The section entitled " *Zwyczaje* "[4] in Volume I is devoted primarily to *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* texts and melodies. Rus Karpacka (Carpathian Ruthenia) refers to the Carpathian mountain and foothill areas primarily inhabited by Ukrainians. In the two volume collection Rus Karpacka[1], Kolberg again presents that material on Carpathian Eastern Galicia not included within his previous works. Here, material concerning the county of Sniatyn is included. In the section entitled " *Zwyczaje* "[2], he reviews the observances and celebrations surrounding *Sviatoho Andreia* , " Sviatoho Mykolaia " (St. Nicholas'), *Rizdvo* , " Sviatoho Vasylia " (St. Basil's), and *Iordan* .

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[1] Oskar Kolberg, Pokucie (Pokuttia) Vol. I, (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1882).

[2] Op cit., pp. 75-208.

[3] Oskar Kolberg, Rus Czerwona (Red Ruthenia), (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1902).

[4] Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61-245.

The first Ukrainian language ethnographic studies describing Ukrainian *Rizdvo* observances appeared in the 1890's under the auspices of the SHevchenko Learned Society centred in Lviv, Galicia. Two serials published by the Ethnographic Commission of the Society - Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk[3] (Ethnographic Collection) and Materialy do Ukrains'koi Etnolohii[4] (Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology) - provide an abundance of pre-World War I scholarly references for the subject at hand. Each of these serials will be considered in turn.

While on the whole, Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk concerned itself with collections of verse, song and lore, a few of the volumes contain contributions relevant to this study. M. Kramarenko's " Rizdviani sviatky v stanytsi Pavlivs'kii "[1] (Christmas Celebrations in Pavlivs'kii) is particularly detailed in its description of " Bahata Kutia " (Christmas Eve), *Rizdvo* , " SHCHedryi Vechir " (New Year's Eve), *Vasylia* , " Holodna Kutia " (Jordan Eve) and " KHreshchenia " (*Iordan*) within a Black Sea community. Although the community studied is not in Pokuttia, it does provide an excellent comparison with Ukrainian observances in then Russian administered Ukraine. IUryi ZHatkovych's " Narodnyi Kaliendar z Uhors'koi Rusy "[2] (The Folk Calendar from Hungarian Rus') is another comparative study on Ukrainian observances in then Hungarian administered (Trans-Carpathian) Ukraine. This article provides a cursory review of *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* and *Iordan* . Filiaret Kolessa's " Narodni praznyky Stryis'koho povitu "[3] (Feast Days in Stryi County) briefly reviews " Sviatyi Vechir " (Christmas Eve), and Ivan Franko's " Narodnyi kaliendar na Pidhiriu "[4] (The Folk Calendar in the Foothills) briefly describes *Sviatoho Andreia* , " Sviatoii Varvary " (St. Barbara's), *Sviatoho Mykolaia* , *Sviat Vechir* and *Novyi Rik* . These articles provide comparisons with neighbouring Ukrainian areas within the given Austrian administered area of Eastern Galicia. To conclude on the Calendar Custom material available in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk, Volodymyr Hnatiuk's two volume collection " Koliadky i SHCHedrivky "[5] (Christmas and New Year's

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[1] Oskar Kolberg, Rus Karpacka (Carpathian Rus'), (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1902).

[2] Oskar Kolberg, Rus Karpacka (Carpathian Rus'), Op. cit., Vol I, pp. 243-290.

[3] Ethnographic Commission, Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk (Ethnographic Collection), Vols. I–XL (Lviv: The SHevchenko Learned Society, 1895–1929).

[4] ________________, Materialy do Ukrains'koi Etnolohii (Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology), Vols. I-XXII (Lviv: The SHevchenko Learned Society, 1899–1929).

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[1] M. Kramarenko, " Rizdviani sviatky v stanytsi Pavliv'skii " (Christmas Celebrations in Pavlivs'kii) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. I (1895): pp. 1-24.

[2] IUryi ZHatkovych, " Narodnyi kaliendar z Uhors'koi Rusy " (The Folk Calendar from Hungarian Rus') in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. II (1896): pp. 4-11.

[3] Filiaret Kolessa, " Narodni praznyky Stryis'koho povitu " (Feast Days in Stryi County) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. V (1898): pp. 91-93.

[4] Ivan Franko, " Narodnyi kalendar na Pidhiriu " (The Folk Calendar in the Foothills) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. V (1898): pp. 203-210.

[5] Volodymyr Hnatiuk, " Koliadky i SHCHedrivky " (Christmas and New Year Carols) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vols. XXXV-XXXVI (1914).

Carols) is invaluable as a companion reference in the sheer number and variety of texts and melodies provided. Of particular interest in volume XXXV is the article " IAk vidbuvaiut'sia koliady u Hutsuliv "[1] (How the Hutsuls Carol) in which the preparation and execution of the dramatic process of house to house carolling is described in significant detail. Again, this article provides a comparison with neighbouring Carpathian Mountain Ukrainian practices within Austrian administered Galicia.

The richest source of Ukrainian Calendar Custom material on *Rizdvo* observances relevant to this study was found in the serial Materialy do Ukrains'koi Etnolohii. The material reviewed is in chronological order of the serial's publishings. Volodymyr Hnatiuk's " Narodnia pozhyva i sposib ii prypravy v skhidnii Halychyni "[2] (Folk Foodways and the Method of its Preparation in Eastern Galicia) describes the general diet of the Ukrainian peasant in Eastern Galicia* in terms of plant and animal intake. Particularly helpful is its differentiation between everyday and special occasion fare. M. Dykarev's " Narodnyi kaliendar Valuis'koho povitu "[3] (The Folk Calendar of Valuis'kyi County) provides an extremely detailed month-by-month chronology of the Ukrainian feast days and holidays of the calendar year in then province of Voronizh, Russia. The value of this article is in its comparative observances with Ukrainian observances in a then Russian administered area of Ukraine. Antin Onyshchuk's " Narodnyi kaliendar u Zelenytsi "[1] (The Folk Calendar in Zelenytsi) is an excellent comparative study to the study at hand in its description of the calendar observances of the Hutsuls living in the Galician Carpathians. It reviews the customs and beliefs associated with *Sviatyi Vechir* , *Rizdvo* , " SHtefana " (St. Stephen's), *Malanka* , *Novyi Rik* , *Vasylia* and *Iordan* . Vasyl' Domanytskyi's " Narodnii kaliendar u Rovens'kim poviti "[2] (The Folk Calendar in Rivno County) provides another excellent comparison with the study at hand in its description of the observances in the then bordering Russian administered province of Volyn'. Included are a few *koliady* texts without melodies. Ivan Holubovych's " Narodnia pozhyva v Sniatyns'im poviti "[3] (The Folk Foodways in Sniatyn County) is specifically relevant to the study at hand in that it itemizes and describes the diet of the inhabitants of Sniatyn. While the article concentrates on the methods of preparation, references are made as to the ordinary-days and festive-days that certain dishes are served. Also relevant, is Bohdan Zaklyns'kyi's " Narodnia pozhyva u Kosivs'kim poviti "[4] (The Folk Foodways in Kosiv County) in its presentation of the typical diet of Sniatyn's immediate neighbouring county of Kosiv. Unlike Holubovych's examination of the actual foodstuffs prepared, Zaklyns'kyi presents a meal-by-meal break-down of a typical diet throughout the four seasons of the year including the differences between fasting, non-fasting and special-occasion days. Fedir Kolomyichenko's " Sil's'ki zabavy v Chernyhivshchyni "[1] (Village Games in Chernihiv Province) describes the games participated in by children, youth and adults throughout the calendar year. In his following piece " Rizdviani obriady i zvychai v Chernyhivshchyni "[2] (Christmas Rituals and Customs in Chernihiv Province) he provides concise descriptions of the process and practice of " Koliaduvannia " (Christmas Carolling), " SHCHedruvannia " (New Year's Carolling), " Koza " (Mummer Carolling), " Zasivannia " (New Year's Sowing), " Hadannia " (Fortune Telling) and of the preparations and requirements for " Persha Kutia " (Christmas Eve), " Druha Kutia " (New Year's Eve) and " Tretia Kutia " (Jordan Eve). Also included are a sampling of *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* texts. Both of Kolomyichenko's contributions are useful as comparison studies. To conclude on the Calendar Custom material available in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii, Volume XXII - (published in 1929), provides insight on the evolution of certain Calendar Customs as they evolved in Ukraine during the interwar period, and is therefore, useful in parallell comparison with Calendar Custom evolution in Canada during the same period. Of particular relevance is Nina Zahlada's " Koza "[1] (She-Goat) which describes the preparation and execution of the dramatic process of house to house carolling as mummers in significant detail. Again, this article provides a comparison in the evolution of a Christmas practice within a Soviet Ukrainian area during the era of Ukrainianization of the mid 1920's.

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[1] Volodymyr Hnatiuk, Op. cit., Vol. XXXV, pp. XV-XXXIV.

[2] Volodymyr Hnatiuk, " Narodnia pozhyva i sposib ii prypravy v skhidnii Halychyni " (Folk Foodways and the Method of its Preparation in Eastern Galicia) in Materialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnolohii Vol. I (1899): pp. 96-110.

* Specifically, Hnatiuk investigated the diet of Ukrainians living in Buchach county of Eastern Galicia and admittedly generalizes that the practices observed in Buchach are representative of those seen in Pokuttia and Podillia. Important to note for this study, is that Buchach county immediately borders Chortkiv county, and therefore, is particularly relevent to this study.

[3] M. Dykarev, " Narodnyi kaliendar Valuis'koho povitu " (The Folk Calendar of Valuis'kyi County) in Materialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnolohii Vol. VI (1905): pp. 113-204.

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[1] Antin Onyshchuk, " Narodnyi kaliendar u Zelenytsi " (The Folk Calendar in Zelenytsi) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XV (1912): pp. 1-61.

[2] Vasyl' Domanytskyi, " Narodnii kaliendar u Rovens'kim poviti " (The Folk Calendar in Rivno County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XV (1912): pp. 62-89.

[3] Ivan Holubovych, " Narodnia pozhyva v Sniatyns'kim povitu " (The Folk Foodways in Sniatyn County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 48-70.

[4] Bohdan Zaklyns'kyi, " Narodnia pozhyva u Kosivskim poviti " (The Folk Foodways in Kosiv County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 41-48.

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[1] Fedir Kolomyichenko, " Sil's'ki zabavy v Chernyhivshchyni " (Village Games in Chernihiv Province) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 123-141.

[2] ____________________, " Rizdviani obriady i zvychai v Chernyhivshchyni " (Christmas Rituals and Customs in Chernihiv Province) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 142-154.

Recently, a number of scholarly works have been produced by contemporary Soviet Ukrainian ethnographers on the subject of Winter Calendar Custom observances. Primarily, they have emerged under the auspices of the Folklore and Ethnography Institute based at the Academy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kiev.* O.V. Kurochkin's Novorichni sviata ukraintsiv - tradytsii i suchasnist'[2] (Ukrainian New Year's Celebrations - Traditional and Contemporary) is probably the best reference work available on *Rizdvo* and *Velykden'* observances past and present. Kurochkin presents a well supported hypothesis[3] to explain why Ukrainians have so many recurring themes and motives in both their Winter and Spring observances. An argument is put forward that the Ukrainian Calendar is a product of the superimposition of Roman and Christian influences upon the already existing agricultural calendar of the ancient Ukrainians whose new year began in spring. He finds considerable evidence that both the Roman Calends, as well as the solar celebration of winter solictice practised among Christians in Western Europe were incorporated by the Ukrainians into their beliefs following Ukraine's formal acceptance of Christianity as the state religion in 988 A.D. (as a result of the Catholic Church accepting and reworking Western European pagan practices into bonafide religious observances so as to retain the newly converted within the Church). As a result, the New Year celebration, Kurochkin argues, was transferred to the winter period in keeping with these influences. Further, many of the rituals welcoming spring, encouraging mating and marking the beginning of the agricultural cycle were transformed into the magico-agrarian fortune-telling rituals of the winter period. Quite convincingly, Kurochkin concludes that the magical, marriage and agricultural elements were understandably duplicated in both the Winter (ie. *Rizdvo*) and Spring (ie. *Velykden'*) Calendar observances. Fully two thirds of his study[1] is devoted to describing the practices associated with the Winter Calendar Customs throughout which references are made to the duplicated Spring Calendar Custom observances and/or variations. V.F. Horlenko's Etnohrafia Kyieva i Kyivshchyny - tradytsii i suchasnist'[2] (The Ethnography of Kiev and its Surrounding Area - Traditional and Contemporary) is an anthropological and archaeological exploration of the ancient Ukrainian landmass and its inhabitants. It provides a well documented discussion which reinforces a generalized hypothesis that many of the customs, rituals, practices, observances, values and physical culture shared by most Ukrainians today, have their origins in Kievan Rus' - indeed, in pre-Roman and pre-Christian times.[1] Particularly relevant to the study at hand are the sections describing beekeeping[2], other occupations[3], diet and foodstuffs[4] in Kievan Rus'. L.F. Artiukh's Ukrains'ka narodna kulinaria[5] (Ukrainian Folk Cuisine) is probably the best reference work available on the study of the Ukrainian diet - past and present. Particularly relevant are the sections on village foodstuffs and their preparation[6], everyday meal preparation[7], food taboos[8] and the role of food during calendar Feast Day observances[9] as they were practised during the last half of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century (prior to the October Revolution of 1917).

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[1] Nina Zahlada, " Koza ", in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XXII (1929): pp. 277-287.

*Akademia Nauk Ukrains'koi Radians'koi Respubliky - Instytut Mystetstvoznavstva, Folkloru ta Etnohrafii im. M.T. Ryl's'koho (The Akademy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic - The M.T. Ryl's'kyi Institute of the Arts, Folklore and Ethnography).

[2] O.V. Kurochkin, Novorichni sviata ukraintsiv - tradytsii i suchasnist' (Ukrainian New Year Celebrations - Traditional and Contemporary), (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1978).

[3] Op. cit., pp. 13-24.

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[1] O.V. Kurochkin, Op. cit., pp. 25-129.

[2] V.F. Horlenko, ed., Etnohrafia Kyieva i Kyivshchyny - tradytsia i suchasnist' (The Ethnography of Kiev - Traditional and Contemporary), (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1986).

A number of Ukrainian language works on the subject of Ukrainian Calendar Custom observances have been published in Canada and abroad since the end of the Second World War. Oleksa Voropai's two-volume study Zvychaii nashoho narodu[10] (The Customs of Our People) describes the Ukrainian calendar year within the framework of the four seasons of the year. Basing most of his presentation on material personally collected in Ukraine from 1937-1943 and within the displaced persons camps in Germany from 1944-1946, Voropai's work offers a detailed description of Ukrainian calendar observances as they evolved and were practiced in interwar Ukraine. It is invaluable in providing a parallel comparison with those calendar observances practiced in Canada during the same period. Of particular relevance to the study at hand is Volume I, which contains the section dealing with Winter (Zyma).[1] Stepan Kylymnyk's five-volume study Ukrains'kyi rik u narodnykh zvychaiakh[2] (The Ukrainian Year in Folk Customs) provides another parallel comparison to those calendar observances practiced in Canada during the interwar period. Kylymnyk, as an educator in Soviet Ukraine during the interwar period, also collected most of his material during that time and upon his immediate arrival in Canada following World War II. Relevant to the study at hand are volumes I and V which describe repectively Winter, and Fall. Mytropolyt Iliarion's Dokhrystians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu[3] (Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People) discusses the dual nature of the Ukrainian religious belief system. He argues that due to the fact that Christianity was superimposed at a relatively late date upon a perfectly logical centuries-old pagan religion, Ukrainians adopted a dual approach in their personal religious beliefs - while they officially observed the new religion by law, they stubbornly clung to their old beliefs in matters affecting their day-to-day lives. With the passage of time, these two religious streams melded into a unique practice of Ukrainian Christianity which to this day continues to retain numerous pagan elements of the ancient religion. Of particular relevance to this study are the sections " Starodavni narodni sviata "[1] (Ancient Folk Feast Days) and " Dvoieviria "[2] (Dual Belief).

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[1] V.F. Horlenko, ed., Op. cit., pp. 5-7.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 60-65.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 33-60.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 65-83.
[5] L.F. Artiukh, Ukrains'ka narodnia kulinaria (Ukrainian Folk Cuisine), (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1977).
[6] Op. cit., pp. 15-29.
[7] Op. cit., pp. 29-74.
[8] Op. cit., pp. 78-84.
[9] Op. cit., pp. 103-149.
[10] Oleksa Voropai, Zvychai nashoho narodu (The Customs of Our People) in Two Volumes, (Munich: Cicero, 1958).

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[1] Oleksa Voropai, Op. cit., Vol. I., pp. 14-185.

[2] Stepan Kylymnyk, Ukrains'kyi rik u narodnykh zvychaiakh (The Ukrainian Year in Folk Customs) in Five Volumes, (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1963).

[3] Mytropolyt Iliarion, Dokhrystians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu (Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People), (Winnipeg: Tovarystvo Volyn', 1981).

A survey of the English language references available on Ukrainian *Rizdvo* observances concludes this review of Ukrainian Ethnography. Y.W. Sokolov's Russian Folklore[3] includes a few Ukrainian references within the section entitled " Ceremonial Poetry Connected with the Calendar ".[4] Cursory references are made to Christmas, St. Basil's Day and the Baptism (ie. *Iordan*). In addition, brief descriptions are given of *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* . Samuel Koenig's unpublished PhD dissertation The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Survey of their Culture and Institutions[5] provides an interwar examination of Ukrainian life in Galicia. Ambitious in its scope, the work is primarily a secondary source amalgamation of pre-World War I Polish and German references supplemented with interviews with Ukrainian Americans who had emigrated from Eastern Galicia and with recent visitors to the area in question. Calendar Customs are described in the section entitled " Observances ".[6] Drawing heavily upon the turn-of-the-century studies of the Carpathian Hutsuls by Shukhevych and Kaindl, the following Calendar observances are cursorily described: *Pylypivka* , *Sviatyi Vechir* , *Rizdvo* , *Koliady* , *SHCHedrivky* , *Novyi Rik* , and *Iordan* . Other sections useful to the study at hand are those describing the beliefs associated with agriculture, such as herding and dairying[1], and the sections dealing with food and the standard of living.[2] " Ethnography " in Ukraine A Concise Encyclopaedia[3] provides an excellent overview of Ukrainian Calendar Customs in the sub-sections included under " The Spiritual Culture of the People ".[4] Relevant to this study are the descriptions of St. Catherine's Day, St. Andrew's Day, St. Barbara's Day, St. Nicholas' Day, *Sviat Vechir* , Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany and St. John the Baptist Day. In addition, *koliadky* , *shchedrivky* and *koza* are discussed under the sub-section " Ritual Songs ".[5]

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[1] Mytropolyt Iliarion, Op. cit., pp. 265-312.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 313-339.
[3] Y.M. Sokolov, Russian Folklore (Detroit: Folklore Associates, 1971).
[4] Op. cit., pp. 179-196.
[5] Samuel Koenig, The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Survey of their Culture and Institutions (Yale University, PhD Dissertation, 1935).
[6] Op. cit., pp. 294-318.

Ukrainian Canadian Ethnography Relating to Calendar Customs

The second area of literature and research directly applicable to this study is that of the observance of *Rizdvo* and *Velykden'* in Canada since the turn of this century. In this respect, Robert Klymasz's A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore in Canada[6] is invaluable as a bibliographic finding aid in locating materials published on Ukrainian Canadian Ethnography to 1964. While many of its entries on Ukrainian Calendar

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[1] Samuel Koenig, Op. cit., pp. 119-160.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 161-212.

[3] " Ethnography " in Volodymyr Kubijovyc, ed., Ukraine A Concise Encylopaedia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 268-429.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 319-349.

[5] Op. cit., pp. 353-358.

[6] Robert B. Klymasz, A Bibliography of Ukrainian Folklore in Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada Anthropology Papers, 1969).

Customs deal with immigrant recollections of *Rizdvo* in the " old country ", a few are particularly relevant to the study at hand.

Unintentionally, the first ethnographic descriptions of Ukrainians in Western Canada came from contemporary negative press editorials which commented upon the Ukrainians' (un)suitability and (un)desireability as immigrants. Newspapers, such as the Edmonton Bulletin, the Calgary Herald and the MacLeod Gazette in Alberta saw the massive influx of these visibly different " . . . half-civilized Galicians . . . "[1] as weakening the British tone established in Canada (ie. Western Canada) at the beginning of this century.

The first serious, systematized study to describe Ukrainians and their lifestyle in Western Canada was prepared by J.S. Woodsworth, the Director of the Bureau of Social Research for Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta in his 1917 report Ukrainian Rural Communities.[2] Relevant to this study are the statistical surveys of the East Central Albertan communities of Mundare, Shandro, Chipman and Lamont Districts located to the north and west of Vegreville[3], and the sub-sections describing " Food "[4] and " Customs ".[5] The typical diet and foodstuffs consumed by

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[1] For a detailed examination of the nativist sentiment directed against Ukrainians, and indeed, other ' non-desirable ' immigrants to Western Canada prior to the First World War, see " Strangers and Stereotypes " in Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice - A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), pp. 17-60.

[2] J.S. Woodsworth, Ukrainian Rural Communities (Winnipeg: Bureau of Social Research for Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, January 25, 1917).

[3] Op. cit., pp. 73-94.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 98-102.

[5] Op. Cit., pp. 104-109.

Ukrainians in Canada are described under " Food ". In addition, special-occasion fare is highlighted for Christmas. Under " Customs ", *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* are discussed. In addition, the Christmas Eve supper is cursorily reviewed.

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of Ukrainians in Canada in 1941, William Czumer's Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada[1] was published. This personal history, which focuses on the first 25 years of Ukrainian settlement in Alberta offers insight and information on the day-to-day and organizational life of the first generation of Ukrainian settlers to Canada by one of its most active members. Section Four[2] is particularly relevant to the study at hand in its discussion of the difficulties involved in continuing the cultural and religious practices transferred from the homeland to Western Canada. Included are personal recollections about the first Ukrainian carollers in Alberta. Though not a personal recollection per se, Illia Kiriak's novel Syny zemli[3] (Sons of the Soil) offers a remarkably detailed picture of the lives of the first generations of Ukrainian settlers in Alberta. Kiriak, who himself emigrated from Sniatyn County to East Central Alberta in 1905 at the age of 17, and who subsequently became an educator within the Ukrainian bloc settlement area, wrote and included in considerable detail much ethnographic information on Calendar Custom observances within his work. Whether the recollections are his own or those of fellow community members he came into contact with throughout his teaching career, they are nonetheless, relevant to this study as reflections of early transplanted Ukrainian Calendar Custom practices both before and after the establishment of a Ukrainian ecclesiastical presence in Western Canada (regardless of their literary formulation). The Calendar Customs described which are relevant to this study include the first celebrations of *Sviatyi Andryi* , *Sviatyi Mykolai* , *Sviat Vechir* , *Rizdvo* , *Koliada* and *Malanka* prior to the establishment of an institutionalized church in Alberta (in Volume I). Halyna Muchin's Masters Thesis The Evolution of the Ukrainian Family and its Portrayal in Illia Kyriak's Novel Sons of the Soil[1] adds insight to Kyriak's work by providing an analytical examination of the socializing role of the family in preserving and passing on the elements of Ukrainian culture to the succeeding generations born in Canada. Particularly relevant to the study at hand are the sections " Susidstvo i mala rodyna "[2] (Neighbours and the Nuclear Family), and " Rodyna i relihia "[3] (Family and Religion). In the former, Muchin discusses how in Canada the role and function of the extended family was assumed by the immediate homesteading neighbours citing among the examples - Christmas hospitality practices. In the latter, a discussion is presented wherein one of the roles of the family is to incorporate the two levels of belief within family observances, namely the Christian and Pagan elements, citing among the examples - the fortune-telling rituals associated with St. Andrew's Day and the cult of the dead in Christmas practices.

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[1] William A. Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada (Edmonton: University of Alberta Printing Services, 1981). Translated reprint of the 1941 edition.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 48-58.

[3] Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) in Three Volumes, (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1973).

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[1] Halyna Muchin, The Evolution of the Ukrainian Family and its Portrayal in Illia Kyriak's Novel Sons of the Soil (The University of Manitoba: Masters Thesis, 1978).
[2] Op. cit., pp. 37-48.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 49-70.

Formal Ukrainian Canadian Folklore scholarship is a relatively young field of study. Consequently, very little exists on the practice or observance of Ukrainian Calendar Customs in Western Canada. The " father " of Ukrainian Canadian Folklore - Jaroslav Rudnyckyj, in his four volume collection Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts[1], provides a number of examples of *Rizdvo* practices on the Prairies as remembered by first generation immigrants from the first and second waves of Ukrainian settlement. Included in Volume I are Ukrainian Christmas in Canada[2], Carollers in Vita[3], a selection of *koliadky* , *shchedrivky* and " Vinshuvannia " (Felicitations)[4], *Malanka* [5], and songs about St. Nicholas.[6] Included in Volume II are a selection of *koliadky* , *shchedrivky* and *vinshuvannia* [7], Christmas Eve in Saskatchewan[8], songs about St. Nicholas[9] and *Malanka* [10]. Volume III is an abridged English translation of Volumes I and II, and Volume IV contains selections of ancient *Koliadky* and *SHCHedrivky* .[11*]

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[1] Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vols. I - IV (Winnipeg: National Publishers Limited, 1963).

[2] Op. cit., Vol I, pp.44-45.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 45-46.

[4] Op. cit., pp. 46-54, 81, 171, 179, 216.

[5] Op. cit., pp. 55, 158.

[6] Op. cit., pp. 165-166.

[7] Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 302-304, 372-378, 382-383, 499, 501, 504-505.

[8] Op. cit., pp. 349-355.

[9] Op. cit., pp. 498-499.

[10] Op. cit., pp. 505-506.

[11] Op. cit., Vol IV, pp. 596-601.

[*] Although no music notation is provided in Rudnyckyj's collections, a videotaped interview session with a group of informants singing a *shchedrivka* is included within the Vasyl' Avramenko film Pionyery (Part I) - housed at the National Film Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario (accession number: NFA 7704 051, 052).

The foremost authority on Ukrainian Canadian Folklore today is Robert Klymasz. In Chapter IV " Folk Beliefs and Counterbeliefs "[1] of his doctoral dissertation Ukrainian Folklore in Canada he discusses how the Old World complex of folk beliefs and associated practices have evolved from generation to generation in the New World in response to the oftime cruel scrutiny of the host society, its inappropriateness in the new setting and the growth of literacy among the the succeeding generations born in Western Canada. An example is given of how the honouring of one's cattle on Chrismas Eve has evolved from an active practice into a memory of the older members of the community. Klymasz's study, the first of its kind in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore scholarship, offers a well supported tri-partite theoretical framework to view the evolutionary changes that have occured in the traditional folk-culture of Ukrainians in Canada. As a result of the acculturative process, Ukrainian beliefs and practices have undergone resistence to change, have broken down due to change, and have subsequently been reconstituted (adjusted) as a result of change to the new Canadian environment.[2] In his article " Culture Maintenance in Western Canada "[3], Klymasz furthers and substantiates his hypothesis that Ukrainian culture in Canada, by becoming increasingly product oriented to be " sold to " and accepted by not only mainstream Canadian society, but by its non-Ukrainian speaking members, has become increasingly symbol oriented in passing on its beliefs, practices and traditions. Hence, dance, music, food, crafts and festivals carry heavier weight in the transmission and maintenance of what is perceived to be " Ukrainian Culture " than do the verbal forms which require language facility. In another publication The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada[1], Klymasz presents over 50 " Old Country " and " New Country " Winter Cycle songs and variations with music gathered from first and second wave Ukrainian immigrants during the 1960's in Western Canada. Particularly helpful to this study are his discussions on the " Origins and Evolution "[2] of Winter Cycle songs in Ukraine, their " Traditional Form and Style "[3] and their " Transplantation and Modification "[4] in Canada. In addition, he has incorporated stills from the 1942 NFB production of Ukrainian Winter Holidays within the publication, as well as providing bibliographic references and recorded discs of the notated songs. Noteworthy is the fact that repertoire from first wave Ukrainians from Chortkiv and Sniatyn Counties is included.

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[1] Robert B. Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 54-66.

[2] Robert Klymasz, Op. cit., Chapter IX " From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore ", pp. 122-130.

[3] _______________, " Culture Maintenance in Western Canada " in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., New Soil - Old Roots (Winnipeg: Printing Services of the University of Manitoba, 1983), pp. 173-182.

" How To " manuals for the Ukrainian wife/mother in Canada sponsored by various church groups and women's organizations offer much ethnographic information, and more importantly, insight into the woman's role within a family in maintaining and passing on " Ukrainian Culture and Identity ". The most interesting of these publications is the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada's Na Storozhi Kul'tury[5] (On

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[1] Robert Klymasz, The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada (Ottawa: The National Museum of Canada, 1970).
[2] Op. cit., pp. 3-6.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 6-8.
[4] Op. cit., pp. 8-13.
[5] Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Na Storozhi Kul'tury (On the Vanguard of Culture), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada, 1947).

The Vanguard of Culture). Relevant to the study at hand are the sections " Prykrasa khaty na sviatochni dni " (Home Decoration on Feast Days), " Pro zberezhennia relehiinykh tradytsii doma " (Maintaining Religious Traditions in the Home), *Pylypivka* , " Vchit' ditei koliaduvaty " (Teach your Children to Carol), " Obriady Rizdvianykh zvychaiiv " (Christmas Rituals and Customs) - which includes recipes, " Koliady i koliadnyky " (Carols and Carollers), " Sviatkovannia Novoho Roku " (Celebrating the New Year), and *Iordan* .[1] Savella Stechyshyn's Traditional Ukrainian Cookery, though primarily a cookbook, also offers an abridged English language synopsis of Ukrainian ethnography describing Christmas, New Year's Day and the Feast of Jordan - complete with suggested menus for the celebratory meals involved.[2]

Local histories of the rural Ukrainian settlement areas in East Central Alberta also provide secondary source material on the practice of Ukrainian *Rizdvo* observances in Canada. The publications relevant to this examination include: Memories: Redwater and District;[3] Along Victoria Trail;[4] Hemstitches and Hackamores;[5] Memories of Mundare;[6]

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[1] Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., pp. 34-78 inclusive.

[2] Savella Stechyshyn, Traditional Ukrainian Cookery (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1976), pp. 17-27.

[3] Audrey Hrynchuk and Jean Klufas, Memories: Redwater and District (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1972).

[4] Lamont and District Historical Society, Along Victoria Trail (Calgary: Friesen Publishers, 1978).

[5] Holden Historical Society, Hemstitches and Hackamores (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1984).

[6] Mundare Historical Society, Memories of Mundare (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980)

History of Vegreville;[1] and, Vegreville in Review.[2] Usually initiated as a result of the availability of federal and provincial grants in the 1970's and 1980's, these publications include many invaluable contextual and personal recollections within the actual family biographies of the settlers and their descendants who lived there. As well, much information is contained within the sub-histories of the major institutions located in these discussed areas (ie. churches, schools and community halls etc.). Usually well illustrated, these publications also offer a number of pictoral references to the subject at hand.

The visual art and film medias, as well as photographs volunteered by the informants themselves, also provide a wealth of ethnographic information on the observance of *Rizdvo* on the western prairie. The National Film Board's 1942 production of Ukrainian Winter Holidays[3] presents, in considerable detail and commentary, the beliefs and practices associated with *Sviat Vechir* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* within a rural Ukrainian community in Manitoba. Though not an ethnographic film per se, the National Film Board's 1978 production of Teach Me to Dance[4] provides insight into the prevailing negative attitudes that the Anglo-Celtic host society in Alberta had towards Ukrainians and their practices immediately following the First World War. The fact that the film's theme centres over the Christmas period is particularly relevant to this study. The UKRA Film Corporation's 1938 production of Marusia[1] presents a nostalgically romantic musical interpretation of turn of the century Ukrainian village life (based on the story Oi ne khody Hrytsiu). Particularly effective are the re-enactments of the house to house *Koliaduvannia* in the Christmas sequence. Additionally, a number of excellent star prop examples are seen throughout the carolling sequence. Allowing for the fact that four-part harmony seldom occurs in day-to-day village life, the film provides a neatly packaged visual impression of some Ukrainian Christmas outdoor practices. A number of paintings by the late William Kurelek and his stylistic successor Peter Shostak depict *Rizdvo* observances in Western Canada. Coincidentally, both artists share a similar early upbringing within the Ukrainian bloc settlement in Prairie Canada, which subsequently has been interpretted on canvas in their works. Of significance are Kurelek's Christmas Eve Remembered[2] (Plate 1) and his personal recollections of Christmas during the 1930's and 1940's[3], as well as, Shostak's recollections from the 1940's and 1950's in Dad is Bringing Some Hay to Place Under the Table[4] (Plate 2), The Carollers are Coming[5] (Plate 3) and The Carollers are Here[6] (Plate 4). Plates 5 through 12 are from the personal collections of the informants and from the cited references surveyed. They support the material presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

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[1] Samuel H. Hardin, History of Vegreville (Vegreville: Samuel Hardin, 1968).

[2] Vegreville and District Historical Society, Vegreville in Review 2 Volumes (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980).

[3] National Film Board of Canada, Ukrainian Winter Holidays (16mm, Colour, 22 min., 1942).

[4] National Film Board of Canada, Teach Me to Dance (16mm, Colour, 28 min., 1978).

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[1] UKRA Film Corporation, Marusia (16mm, Black and White, 120 min., 1938).

[2] William Kurelek, " Christmas Eve Remembered " in They Sought a New World (Plattsburg: Tundra Books, 1985), p. 38.

[3] ________________, The Ukrainian Pioneer (Niagara Falls: The Niagara Falls Art Gallery, 1980), p. 65.

[4] Peter Shostak, " Dad is Bringing Some Hay to Place Under the Table " in Millennium Collection (Victoria: Yalenka Enterprises Inc., 1988).

[5] ______________, " The Carollers are Coming " in When Nights Were Long (Victoria: Yalenka Books, 1982), pp. 38-39.

[6] ______________, " The Carollers are Here " in Milleneum Collection (Victoria: Yalenka Enterprises, 1988).

Related References

The third area of literature and research directly applicable to this study is that of relevant supporting references on the observance and maintenance of Ukrainian, and indeed, other Eastern European customs, traditions, beliefs, practices and identity in Canada within alternate ethnographic and non-ethnographic sources. The disciplines containing these additional comparative and contextual references include the fields of Anthropology, Religious Studies and Sociology.

A number of comparative studies, which focus on the adjustments made by various Eastern European ethnic groups in North America have been published in Canada and the United States since the turn of this century. The first, and perhaps the most influential approach of its kind was William Thomas' and Florian Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.[1] Focusing on the approximately two million Poles who had emigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1910, they presented case studies to explain the sociology of immigrants by examining the breakdown of organizational patterns and their subsequent reorganization within traditional Polish peasant society - particularly its family systems in America. At the time, this study presented a revolutionary approach in the consideration of social change and how it can be conceptuatlized not only in terms of the individual within the family structure, but also in terms of the individual within the greater community. In addition, it was the first study to recognize that immigrants face unique problems (ie. social, psychological, financial, linguistic and philosophical) when they settle in a new environment, which should, indeed must be considered by the various governmental and religious agencies assisting them in their new country. This publication is especially relevant to this study for two reasons. First, it examines an immediate neighbour of the Ukrainians in Eastern Europe - the Poles, who emigrated to North America at approximately the same time as did the Western Ukrainians at the turn of this century. Second, the topics covered mirror many of the phenomena and considerations experienced by Ukrainians in Western Canada. These topics include: " Struggle for the Preservation of the Old Social System "; " Education "; " Cooperative Institutions "; " The Family System "; " The Mutual Benefit Society "; The Parish "; " The Parochial School "; " The Community Centre "; and, " The Development of the Community ". The value therefore, of this examination is in its ability to provide a parallel comparison to the developments and events occuring within the Ukrainian community in East Central Alberta during roughly the same period. A similar study is Kazimierz Dobrowolski's " Peasant Traditional Culture "[1] which specifically examines traditional peasant life in Southern Malopolska at the turn of this century. The generalizations that it offers can, as a result, be applied to the territories immediately beyond the subject area, in this case, Galician Western Ukraine.

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[1] William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in America (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984). This is an edited, abridged and updated version of the original five volume series first published in 1918.

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[1] Kazimierz Dobrowolski, " Peasant Traditional Culture " in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies (Markham: Penguin Books, 1979).

The 1960's and 1970's, as a result of the conclusions reached by the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission[1] which led to the entrenchment of an official multi-cultural policy in 1971, saw a surge in interest and funding for the study of various ethnic groups resident in Canada. The study of folk culture and folk life predictably benefitted. As a result, a number of excellent studies on Eastern European ethnic groups emerged under the auspices of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and were published within the National Museum of Man's Mercury Series. Linda Degh's People in the Tobacco Belt: Four Lives[2] was the first of these studies focusing on an Eastern European Group in Canada. Specifically, her study examined the lives of four Hungarian tobacco farmers who arrived in the Delhi area of Southern Ontario during the interwar period and following the Hungarian uprising of 1956. The first study of its kind, which provided detailed interviews of the informants who participated, the work allows the reader to interpret and extrapolate the contextual ethno-graphic material relating to folk customs, religious tradition, and family and rural community life contained within its passages. As a case study approach, which focuses on four individuals, it provides an excellent model, which can be modified to suit similar examinations of personal histories within other ethnic groups. James Patterson's The Romanians of Saskatchewan: Four Generations of Adaption[3] presents a brief overview of the Romanian communities in Saskatchewan and

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[1] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups (Ottawa: Queen's Printer , 1970).

[2] Linda Degh, People in the Tobacco Belt: Four Lives (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1975).

[3] G. James Patterson, The Romanians of Sakatchewan: Four Generation of Adaptation (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1977).

Alberta which were settled and have continued to evolve since the turn of this century. While the title is a bit misleading in that this is not a case study per se of particular families, but a conglomerate of various sources from the approximate number of generations resident in these areas today, the study provides a cursory review of the settlement and religious histories, economic, social and cultural lives and the factionalism inherent within and between the various sub-groups of Romanians in Canada. These sub-groups include: the religious factions of Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish sects; and, the ethnic factions of Romanians, Germans, Ukrainians, Lipoveni, Szecklers and Jews. In attempting to cover too much within the scope of this study, little attention is paid to its ethnographic purpose. In any case, the study does provide a few comparative references on the Romanians in Western Canada as they relate to the Ukrainians in the same areas, as well as, comparative information on Romanian Ukrainians versus Galician Ukrainians, again, located in the same areas. The last, and perhaps most detailed examination of any Eastern European ethnic group in Canada, is Bekevar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community[1] edited by Robert Blumstock. The collection is entirely devoted to the study of the Hungarian Canadian community of Kipling (formerly Bekevar), Saskatchewan. It attempts to describe and provide some insight into the processes which have affected and transformed the original immigrant rural community into a Canadian one over three generations of evolution. The study discusses how at least four factors: language retention; maintenance of religious affiliation; cultural transmission; and, relatively low internal group differentiation have combined with geographic isolation to maintain a relatively coherent group association and identification. The Depression of the 1930's, combined with the events affecting the community during the Second World War, and the post-war migration of the younger, better educated generations to the cities have relatively recently eroded the fabric of the once close knit community. The papers presented by Linda Degh[1] and Marida Hollos[2] are very useful to the study at hand. Dr. Degh's paper emphasizes that the remains of the folklore traditions, particularly the oral traditions, have survived only within those members of the community who have maintained their language skills. Dr. Hollos' paper describes the changes in lifestyle reflected in the various generations living in Bekevar. While the pioneers maintained fairly traditional ways, the succeeding generations have been increasingly influenced by the various Canadian infrastuctures which eventually established themselves within the community, namely, schools, hospitals, government agencies, media and the growth of urban centres drawing increasingly larger numbers of the younger members of the community towards them. This paper in particular is an excellent comparative piece to this study.

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[1] Robert Blumstock, ed., Bekevar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1979).

The related Ukrainian Canadian references containing the richest contextual ethnographic information appropriate to this study are the fields of Religious Studies and Sociology. The late Paul Yuzyk provided significant scholarly contributions on the history of religious life within the Ukrainian Canadian community - with a primary emphasis on Ukrainian life in Western Canada. His Masters Thesis The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada[1] and his Doctoral Dissertation The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada[2] are the most detailed reference works available on the beginnings and history of both churches from the time of the arrival of the first settlers in 1892 to the the mid-1950's. By providing detailed accounts of the early years of both churches in Western Canada and the impact of their histories on the Ukrainian residents of Western Canada, considerable insight is gained in determining why certain Ukrainian Calendar Custom observances - particularly those involving organized religious participation - were maintained, modified or simply died out. In his article " Religious Life "[3], Yuzyk encapsulates his thesis and dissertation and provides an update on both churches from the Second World War to the present.

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[1] Linda Degh, " Folklore of the Bekevar Community " in Robert Blumstock, ed., Bekevar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1979), pp. 13-64.

[2] Marida Hollos, " Families Through Three Generations in Bekevar " in Robert Blumstock, ed., Bekevar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1979), pp. 65-126.

In the field of Sociology, two names stand out in their scholarly contributions which focus on the maintenance of Ukrainian cultural identity in Canada - Wsevolod Isajiw and Roman Petryshyn. In his articles " Identity Retention Among Second- and Third-Generation Ukrainians in Canada "[4] and " Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their

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[1] Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Canada (The University of Manitoba: Masters Thesis, 1948).

[2] ___________, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (The University of Minnesota: Doctoral Dissertation, 1958).

[3] ___________, " Religious Life " in Manoly Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), pp. 142-172.

[4] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, " Identity Retention Among Second- and Third-Generation Ukrainians in Canada " in Jaroslaw Rozumnyj, ed., New Soil - Old Roots The Ukrainian Experience in Canada (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Printing Services, 1983), pp. 208-221.

Meaning and Significance "[1] Wsevolod Isajiw describes how with each successive generation of Ukrainians born in Canada, their cultural maintenance and foci become increasingly external, non-linguistically oriented and symbolic in nature. While in the former he concentrates on the increasing loss of language facility within the younger generations, which thereby determines those elements of the Ukrainian Culture they are able to maintain, in the latter he specifies those external, visible symbols which actually are being maintained. By the third generation Isajiw notes that Ukrainian cultural retention has been reduced (in decreasing order of value) to: the eating of Ukrainian food on a day to day basis and on special occasions, possessing some Ukrainian ornamental or artistic articles, speaking Ukrainian to children, practising Ukrainian customs, participating in Ukrainian community functions, having close Ukrainian friends, speaking Ukrainian to parents and having some knowledge of the Ukrainian language.[2] And finally, to conclude this discussion on the relevant research and literature available on Ukrainian Canadians, Roman Petryshyn's " The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition "[3] summarizes the status of the Ukrainian Canadian community as it exists today. Essentially, he states that the longer Ukrainians reside in Canada, the more they will emulate the dominant society that surrounds them in terms of language assimilation, religious assimilation, occupational status, income levels, educational achievement, political affiliation and eventually, entrance into the elites. If Ukrainians in Canada are to maintain their culture and tradition, they have to make it an increasingly conscious, deliberate goal of family and institutional life.

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[1] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, " Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Visible Symbols Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Printing Services, 1984), pp. 119-141.

[2] ________________, " Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Visible Symbols Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Printing Services, 1984), p. 121.

[3] W. Roman Petryshyn, " The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), pp. 74-97.

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Plate 1: *Sviata Vecheria* in progress. A family about to take part in the Christmas Eve Supper. Note the empty place setting in the foreground, the twelve dishes on the table, the sheaf of wheat in the lower right corner and the Christmas tree in the upper right corner. (Christmas Eve Remembered, reproduced in William Kurelek, They Sought a New World, (Plattsburg: Tundra Books, 1985), p. 38.

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Plate 2: The head of the farming household going out to the barn to bring in some hay to place under the dining table for *Sviata Vecheria* . (Dad is Bringing Some Hay to Place Under the Table, reproduced in Peter Shostak, Millennium Collection, (Victoria: Yalenka Books, 1982)

This plate has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

Plate 3: A group of Ukrainian Carollers arriving at the gates of a farmstead travelling by horse and sleigh. Note the star prop being carried in the sleigh. (The Carollers are Coming, reproduced in Peter Shostak, When Nights were Long, (Victoria: Yalenka Books, 1982), p. 39.

This plate has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

Plate 4: A group of Ukrainian Carollers who have arrived at a farmstead. Note the star prop being held by one of the carollers. (The Carollers are Here, reproduced in Peter Shostak, Millennium Collection, (Victoria: Yalenka Books, 1988)

CHAPTER TWO

THE WINTER HOLIDAYS IN GALICIA

At the turn of this century, the counties of Chortkiv and Sniatyn were located in the eastern section of the then Polish administered Austrian province of Galicia. Separated at that time by a single county (Horodenko), their village areas were less than 60 kilometres apart[1]. Five informants, all of whom were in their mid- to late- 90's, were questioned about their recollections of *Rizdvo* in their native village areas prior to their emigration to Canada in the early 1900's. Three of the informants came from neighbouring villages in northern Chortkiv county while the remaining two informants came from neighbouring village areas in central Sniatyn county (see Map 1). Each informant was a part of the first wave of Ukrainian emigration from Austrian Eastern Galicia to Western Canada - leaving their native village areas prior to 1914.

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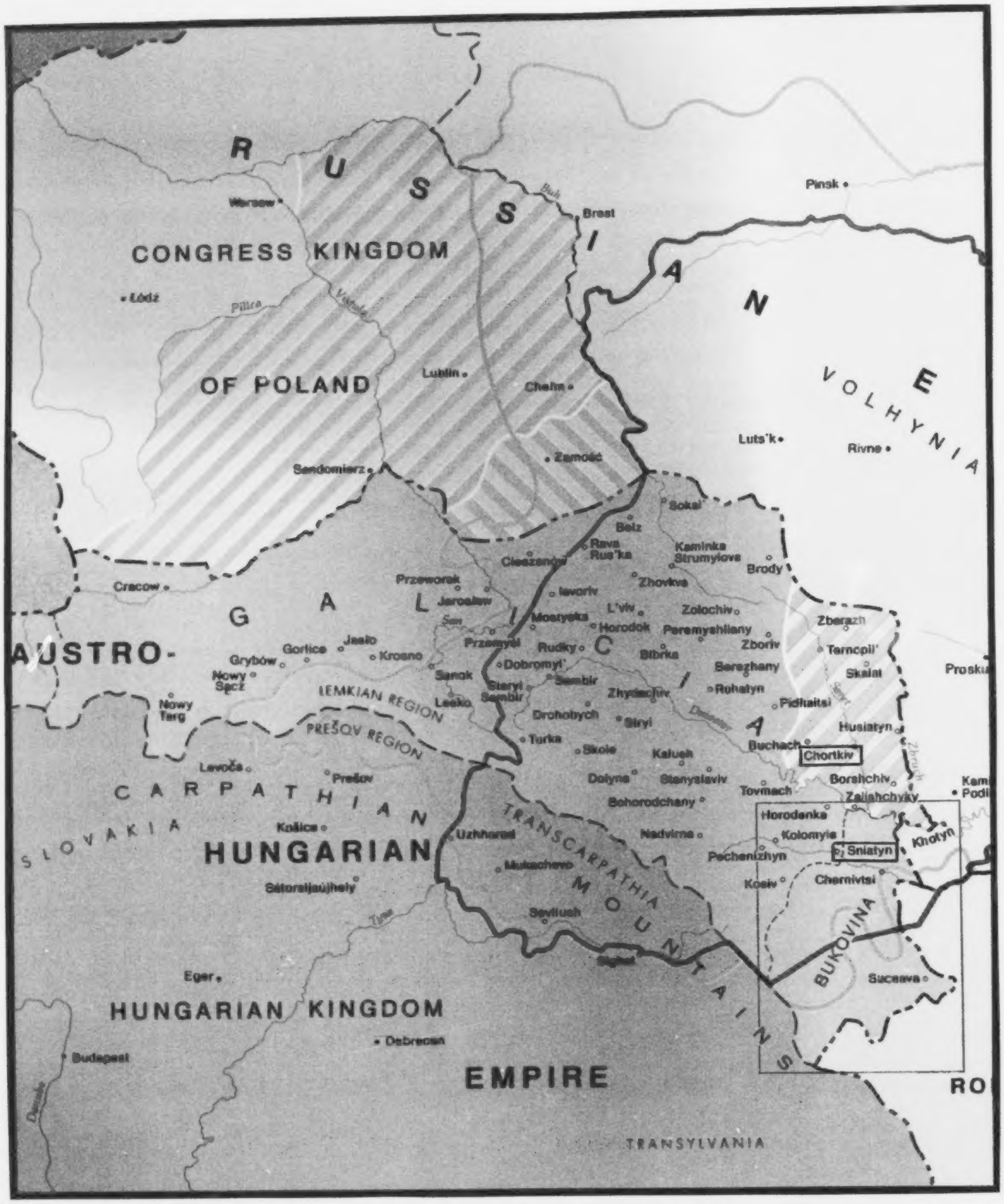
[1] "Western Ukraine 1772-1914" in Paul Robert Magocsi, Historical Atlas of Ukraine (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 20.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CONGRESS KINGDOM
OF POLAND
Warsaw
Łódź
Pilica
Vistula
Lublin
Chełm
Zamość
Sandomierz
Buh
Brest
Pinsk
VOLHYNIA
Luts'k
Rivne
Proski
Sokal'
Belz
Rava Rus'ka
Kaminka Strumylova
Brody
Cieszanów
Zhovkva
Przeworsk
Jarosław
Iavoriv
L'viv
Zolochiv
Mostyska
Horodok
Peremyshliany
Zbarazh
San
Przemyśl
Rudky
Bibrka
Zboriv
Ternopil'
Dobromyl'
Berezhany
Skalat
Sambir
Staryi Sambir
Rohatyn
Zhydachiv
Pidhaitsi
Drohobych
Stryi
Dniester
Husiatyn
Turka
Skole
Kalush
Buchach
Chortkiv
Zbruch
Dolyna
Stanyslaviv
Tovmach
Borshchiv
Kam
Podi
Bohorodchany
Zalishchyky
Horodenka
Kolomyia
Nadvirna
Khotyn
Pechenizhyn
Sniatyn
Kosiv
Chernivtsi
BUKOVINA
Suceava
RO
GALICIA
Cracow
AUSTRO-
Jasło
Gorlice
Krosno
Grybów
Nowy Sącz
Sanok
Lesko
Nowy Targ
LEMKIAN REGION
PREŠOV REGION
Levoča
Prešov
CARPATHIAN
SLOVAKIA
Košice
HUNGARIAN
Uzhhorod
Mukachevo
Sátoraljaújhely
TRANSCARPATHIA
MOUNTAINS
Tysa
Sevliush
Sighet
Eger
HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
Debrecen
Budapest
Danube
EMPIRE
TRANSYLVANIA

Map 1: Galicia pre-1914. Galicia was the northeastern edge of the Austro-Hungarian Empire bordering both the Russian and German Empires. Hungary was located to its immediate south while the Romanian administered province of Bukovina flanked its southeastern edge. [Adapted from "Western Ukraine 1772-1914" in Paul R. Magocsi, Ukraine: A Historical Atlas, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 20.]

RIZDVO OBSERVANCES

(pre-1914)

The examination of the winter holiday season involves a two phase approach. The first phase centres on the observances and preparations associated with Advent or " Pylypivka " while the second phase centres on the observances and practices associated with Christmas Eve or " Sviatyi Vechir ", Christmas (ie. *Rizdvo*), New Year's or " Novyi Rik ", and the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan ". These phases are described and discussed following in terms of diet, social activity and the preparation for and participation in both religious and non-religious rituals and practices.[1]

Pylypivka

Pylypivka [2], (which was also referred to simply as " Pist " by all of the informants), was a six week church ordained preparatory period immediately preceeding *Rizdvo* .[1] The six week period stretched from approximately the beginning of the last week of November to the end of the first week of January[*]. Generally, *Pylypivka* was noted for the observance of certain dietary restrictions on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays[2], as well as, the observance of a community-wide abstention from public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities (such as weddings).[3] Although public celebrations and festivities were not held during *Pylypivka* , family and neighbourly socializing continued. Within this existing social constraint, a number of non-religious and religious feast days were celebrated and observed (such as St. Andrew's Day and St. Nicholas's Day respectively). When these celebrations were observed, they were typically private socials held within the confines of an individual's home.[4] In addition, *Pylypivka* coincided with the onset of the winter season in Galicia, and as such, many of the practices and activities that the villagers participated in, were by neccessity, tied into the preparation of one's household, farm holdings, livestock and produce for the winter.[5] All of these areas will be described and discussed in greater detail.

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[1] For an excellent general reference on Ukrainian Winter Calendar Customs (ie. *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *IOrdan*) at the turn of the 20th century see " Zymovyi tsykl ahrarno kalendarnykh zvychaiiv ta obriadiv ukraintsiv " (The Winter Cycle of Ukrainian Agricultural Calendar Customs and Rituals) in O.V. Kurochkin, Novorichni sviata ukraintsiv: tradytsii i suchasnist' (Ukrainian New Year Celebrations: Traditional and Contemporary), (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1978), pp. 25-129. See also " The Winter Cycle " in Volodymyr Kubijovyc ed., Ukraine A Concise Encycopaedia Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 320-324, and, " Christmas Observances " in Samuel Koenig, The Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia A Study of Their Culture and Institutions (Yale University: Doctoral Dissertation, 1935), pp. 297-305.

[2] Oskar Kolberg, Pokucie (Pokuttia) Vol. I. (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1882), p. 75 mentions that the term *Pylypivka* is derived from St. Philip's Day (*Pylyp*) - the first day of advent. In " Adwent " (pp. 75-77) the general restrictions pertaining to diet and socializing during *Pylypivka* are described.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Mr. Hrynchyshyn left his native village of Dzvinych, Chortkiv in 1908 when he was 20 years old.

[*] All of the informants recall celebrating Christmas Day in their native village areas according to the Julian Calendar on the 7th of January.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Op. cit., and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Mrs. Romaniuk left her native village of Slobidka, Chortkiv in 1897 when she was 7 years old.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #3 and #5. Mrs. Samoil left her native village of Dzvinych, Chortkiv in 1912 when she was 17 years old.

[4] Nancy Samoil, Interview #2.

[5] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Mr. Kostash left his native village of Tulova, Sniatyn in 1911 when he was 20 years old.

Dietary Restrictions

The typical Ukrainian peasant diet[1] in Galicia at the turn of the century could hardly be described as plentiful and/or varied due to the poverty of the region.[2] However, during *Pylypivka* it was particularly restrictive with respect to the following specific food products - namely meat (including poultry), meat products (including fats), eggs and all dairy products*. While the church prescribed abstention from these specific food products on Fridays throughout the year on days referred to as " Piatnon`ky " (to honour the crucifixion of Jesus Christ on Good Friday)[3], during *Pylypivka* the villagers, for reasons of poverty and heightened religious observance, further imposed these same dietary restrictions on Mondays and Wednesdays.[4] For some villagers, these dietary restrictions extended to every day of *Pylypivka* , while for many others, these conditions existed throughout the entire year.[1] Very few families had meat regularly throughout the year from their own livestock resources (either beef or pork), and, not everyone had a poultry stock (either chickens, ducks or geese). In addition, many did not even have their own cow(s), goat(s) and/or sheep which could have provided regular dairy products for their households. Quite obviously then, what the villagers did not have to consume, they were willing give up as " dietary restrictions " on Mondays and Wednesdays in addition to their regular *Piatnon`ky* . As a result, it appears that *Pylypivka* may have inadvertantly been a timely period to save up one's produce and root vegetable stocks for the upcoming winter season.[2]

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[1] For a discussion on archaeological evidence confirming the antiquity of the typical Ukrainian diet, as well as, the methods of preparation of the various foodstuffs see L. F. Artiukh, " Ilzha ta kharchuvannia v Kyivs'kii Rusi " (The Diet and Foodstuffs of Kievan Rus') in V.F. Horlenko ed., Etnohrafia Kyiva i Kyivshchyny - tradytsia i suchasnist' (The Ethnography of Kiev - Traditional and Contemporary), (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1986), pp. 65-83. Further, for an excellent reference on the typical village diet, as well as, the typical methods of preparation of the various foodstuffs among Ukrainians at the turn of the twentieth century see " Vyrobnytstvo ta zahotivlia produktiv kharchuvannia v selians'komu hospodarstvi " (The Production and Preparation of Foodstuffs in the Village Household), and, " Vyhotovlennia shchodennykh strav " (The Preparation of Everyday Dishes), in L.F. Artiukh, Ukrains'ka narodna kulinaria (Ukrainian Folk Cuisine), (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1977), pp. 15-74. See also " Prepapration of Food " in Kubijovyc, Op. cit., pp. 295-297. and, " Food " in Koenig, Op. cit., pp. 161-212.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Mr. Chillibecki left his native village area of Orelets, Sniatyn in 1901 when he was 8 years old.

*All of the informants were especially emphatic with respect to these particular dietary restrictions during *Pist* .

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

The typical diet during *Pylypivka* consisted of whatever would have been harvested and stored within a family's grain and produce reserves.[3] The foods typically consumed included: buckwheat, cornmeal, oatmeal and/or barley kasha (a type of rough ground gruel or porridge), wheat flour, sauerkraut, whole pickled cabbage, pickled cucumbers and/or beets, potatoes, beets, turnips, carrots, peas, beans, squash[4], onions, garlic, roughly ground rye and/or corn bread, pickled and/or dried fish

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Artiukh, Op. cit., pp. 78-79 cites that essentially, the church superimposed religious context (ie. fasting) over the typically leaner times of the agricultural year. *Pylypivka* was one of the leaner times of the year.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #2. Artiukh, Op. cit., pp. 79-82.

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Mr. Hrynchyshyn also noted that within his childhood memory, by the turn of this century, the variety of garden produce increased within the typical village garden rather substantially when Hungarian peddlers began travelling into Galicia to sell their numerous varieties of seeds. For example, new varieties of cucumbers, carrots, turnips, peas, beans, tomatoes, cabbages, squash, pumpkins and radishes were added to his family's diet by the time he left for Canada.

(when caught or when available), dried mushrooms (picked locally), fresh and/or dried fruit (primarily apples, pears and plums), herb teas (picked locally and dried), and " olii " (a domestically produced cooking oil made from hemp, pumpkin or sunflower seeds).[1] When circumstances permitted, this primarily vegetarian diet was supplemented by milk, butter, cheese, sweet and sour creams, pork (usually smoked bacon wherein its rendered fat could be reused as a flavouring agent in cooking the usual foodstuffs), chicken (fresh), and eggs.[2] Condiments such as tea, coffee, salt, pepper and sugar (and to a lesser extent, baking ingredients such as yeast and spices) were items purchased at the local village store that could only be afforded infrequently - when a family's finances (ie. its possession of bartering items, such as eggs) permitted.[3]

The meals prepared from the above mentioned foodstuffs throughout *Pylypivka* were numerous and quite inventive given the limited number of ingredients that were typically and repeatedly contained in many of the dishes.[1] While a variety of vegetable soups were not common in the village areas of these informants (despite the fact that a variety of vegetables were cultivated in the typical family garden) two types of combined vegetable soups were extremely popular: " borshcht " (beet soup) and " kapusniak " (cabbage soup). *Borshcht* was a vegetable laden beet soup made using either beet or pork stock, or a whey base known as " syrvatka ".[2] *Kapusniak* was a vegetable laden cabbage soup made using either soured cabbage, sauerkraut or pork stock.[3] When circumstances permitted (ie. when a carcass was available), a type of chicken soup called " rusil' " was made. *Rusil`* was essentially a clear chicken stock into which homemade noodles (made from wheat flour and water) called " makarony " were added.[4] Most of the soups which were made were water based and milk bases were virtually unknown except for *syrvatka* .

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. See also Ivan Holubovych, " Narodnia pozhyva v Sniatyns'kim poviti " (The Folk Foodways in Sniatyn County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 48-70 for detailed recipes of the typical dishes and foodstuffs consumed in Sniatyn. For examples of recipes representing the typical dishes and foodstuffs consumed in Chortkiv, see Volodymyr Hnatiuk, " Narodnia pozhyva i sposib ii prypravy v skhidnii Halachyni " (The Folk Foodways and Methods of Preparation in Eastern Galicia) in Materialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnolohii Vol. I (1899): pp. 96-110 which describes the diet in Buchach County (an area bordering Chortkiv on its northern edge).

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. For a description of the changing role of the village store within the Galician villages of Austrian administered Ukraine during the last half of the 19th/beginning of the 20th centuries, see John-Paul Himka, " Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change The Cultural Life of Alberta's First Ukrainians (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 11-13.

For those families who were fortunate enough to have a poultry stock, chicken, when it was eaten, was the most frequently eaten meat. Typically, when it was eaten, it was consumed as a much looked forward to highlight of a Sunday dinner meal for the family.[5] In addition, any leftovers could be proudly served for any visitors dropping by. Chicken was usually prepared in one of the following ways. After it was gutted, the carcass could either be boiled whole in its own soup, or it could be baked whole seasoned lightly with salt and pepper.[1] Giblets were usually fried with onions and/or garlic, salt and pepper for a later meal and any excess chicken fat was usually rendered and used for medicinal purposes (such as chapped skin) or as a flavouring agent in the preparation of other foods.[2] Stuffed baked chickens were virtually unknown.

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[1] For examples of typical meals during fasting and non-fasting periods in a neighbouring area bordering Sniatyn County, see Bohdan Zaklyns'kyi, " Narodnia pozhyva u Kosivskim poviti " (The Folk Foodways in Kosiv County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XVIII (1918): pp. 41-48.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #1.

[3] Ibid.

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #3.

[5] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #2. Sunday, in addition to being the day that one worshipped God by going to church, was also a church prescribed day where one did not work. As such, it was treated in much the same way as a holiday in that family, neighbours and friends visited one another.

Porridges or gruels known as " kasha " were also quite popular, and most importantly, inexpensive and easy to make for the average village family. Roughly ground buckwheat, cornmeal, oatmeal and barley could easily be produced at home using a primitive stone grinder/mill* known as " zhorna ". When a selected meal was ground, it could either be lightly roasted and then boiled, or simply boiled in water to the consistency of *kasha* desired. Where circumstances permitted, milk, sweet cream, sugar and/or butter were added either during or following the cooking process.[3] In Sniatyn, due to the greater proliferation of corn as a basic grain, a type of puffed spoonbread called " nachenka " was also made from roughly ground cornmeal grits (with the following additional ingredients: sweet cream, eggs, butter, sugar and/or salt).[4]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #1.

[2] Ibid.

* Each informant spoke of this *zhorna* as a neccessary piece of equipment in one's household.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #1.

[4] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Everyday bread was not made from wheat flour, but rather, from domestically stone ground rye, corn and/or oat flours.[1] A dark rye loaf, which was referred to as " chornyi khlib " (literally - black bread), was the most commonly produced loaf. It was a coarsely textured bread baked with all its fibre and husk intact.*

Vegetables, when served, were almost universally prepared by first boiling them to a soft consistency and then mashing them with the following flavouring agents: onions, garlic, salt and/or pepper.** When circumstances permitted, milk, sweet and/or sour cream, cheese and/or butter were also mashed in with the vegetables. If leftovers remained, these mashed dishes would then be fried up as a type of hash on either *olii* , or when circumstances permitted, on bacon or chicken fat renderings known as " smalets ". Potatoes, turnips, squash and beans lent themselves to this mashed style of preparation, however, carrots, peas and dried mushrooms did not. These vegetables were prepared simply by boiling them and then dressing them with a fried mixture of onions and/or garlic in *olii* , *smalets* or where circumstances permitted, in butter.*** Pickled cucumbers and beets were served without any particular added preparation. Sauerkraut, on the other hand, was a very versatile pickled vegetable* in that it could be served either hot or cold. When cooked, it could either be boiled or fried and then dressed in a fried mixture of onions and/or garlic in *olii* , or when circumstances permitted, in *smalets* . When served cold, it was usually soaked in water (to get rid of any excess brine), drained, and then tossed with the same fried dressing mixture of onions and/or garlic in *olii* . *Smalets* was never used in the preparation of cold dishes.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #2.

* Each informant remarked with considerable bitterness of having had to consume this type of bread on a daily basis because their families could not afford to have white (ie. wheat flour) bread on a regular basis. Much of the cost of the wheat flour came from its milling costs, whereas most families could mill the rye, oat and corn flours themselves at home using the primitive stone *zhorna*..

**All of the informants mentioned this type of generalized vegetable preparation.

***Ibid.

Stuffed cabbage rolls known as " holubtsi " and stuffed dumplings known as " pyrohy " were perhaps the two most frequently prepared dishes in Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties throughout *Pylypivka* (and indeed, throughout the entire year). *Holubtsi* were prepared using soured cabbage leaves and stuffed with the following grainstuffs: buckwheat, cornmeal or barley. These grain fillings would be either toasted or boiled and seasoned with fried onions and garlic in *olii* (or when circumstances permitted in *smalets* or butter), salt and pepper. When stuffed and rolled, the prepared *holubtsi* would then be baked.[1] *Pyrohy* were stuffed dough pockets. The dough was made from a basic recipe of white flour and water (exactly like the *makarony* dough) and stuffed with either of the following fillings: potatoes, sauerkraut or cottage cheese. These fillings would be combined and seasoned in a variety of ways.[2] The typical pyrohy fillings included: mashed potatoes, cottage cheese, sauerkraut, mashed potatoe and fried onions, and mashed potatoe and cottage cheese. Of course, all of these fillings were seasoned with salt and pepper. When stuffed and sealed, the prepared *pyrohy* pockets were then boiled. When the hot *holubtsi* and *pyrohy* were ready, they were dressed in a mixture of fried onions and *olii* (or when circumstances permitted, in butter or *smalets*). Both dishes would then be completed with a dollop of sour cream (if available). Leftover *holubtsi* and *pyrohy* were usually reheated by frying in either *olii* , or when circumstances permitted, in butter or *smalets* .*

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*All of the informants mentioned this type of generalized vegetable preparation.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[2] Ibid.

The varieties of fish, when they were available, were of two main types: pickled herring (purchased through the local village store), and locally caught freshwater whitefish, usually carp (which was either purchased at the local village store or market).** Pickled herring or " oseledtsi " were purchased with much the same frequency as other dietary condiments, that is, when the family's financial circumstances permitted. The whitefish would be purchased either fresh, or dried and salted - and again, when the family's financial circumstances permitted.[1] Fresh fish would be prepared in one of three ways. First, it could simply be filetted and fried lightly in *olii* (or when circumstances permitted, in butter), to which onions and/or garlic, salt and pepper would be added. Second, it could be chopped coarsely and then boiled to produce a jellied type of

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*All of the informants mentioned this type of generalized *holubtsi* and *pyrohy* preparation.

**Oddly enough, although every informant mentioned that they lived on or near rivers, few villagers fished for their own catches to supplement their diets. (This was probably due to the fact that landlords, after the abolition of serfdom, expropriated this previously held common property as private property as compensation for the loss of labour. See Himka, Op. cit., p. 12.) Further, they stated that fish, for most families, was a " special occasion " dish usually eaten only twice a year - on Christmas Eve and on Good Friday.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

fish aspic called " studenets " (seasoned with garlic, salt and pepper). Third, it could simply be gutted, seasoned lightly with salt and pepper, and baked whole. Dried salted fish was soaked in water for a while, and then, was either boiled or baked in water as a soup/stew with onions, garlic and mushrooms, or fried in the same manner as fresh fish.* Dredging in flour (or meal) and egg before frying and/or baking was virtually unheard of. Only fresh fish lent itself to jellying (due to its content of natural gelatin).

Those who were fortunate enough to have had a little orchard, or access to some amount of fruit, usually dried+ that fruit for future use. When it was served, the dried fruit was usually soaked and stewed overnight, or over a period of a few hours, to produce a fruit compote known as " sushenie ".[1] The solid portions would be eaten much as a fruit cocktail, while the juicy nectar would be drunk as a beverage.[2]

While all of the above mentioned foods and dishes were prepared throughout *Pylypivka* (and indeed, throughout most of the year) in Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties, certain restrictions existed with respect to their appropriateness and method of preparation on the imposed days of fasting, namely Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. As previously mentioned, on these days, no meat, meat products or dairy products (including eggs) were consumed. These restrictions further affected the existing diet two ways. First, and rather obviously, meat and dairy products were avoided completely. Second, and more significantly, in the preparation of the allowable remaining foodstuffs, the use of butter and/or *smalets* was also avoided completely.[1] Therefore, the diet on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays consisted primarily of fish (if available) and/or vegetables prepared either by boiling or by frying in *olii* , pickled fish (again, if available), pickled vegetables, black bread, stewed fruit and herbal tea. For those who could afford it, this diet would be supplemented by tea, coffee and sugar. The frustration experienced by the average villager with respect to his or her diet during *Pylypivka* , and particularly with respect to the restricted days of fasting, can be humourously shown in the following statement:

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*All of the informants mentioned these types of preparations for fish.

+Drying fruit was a relatively simple process involving a two step method of preparation. First, the fruit was washed, peeled, cored or pitted, and sliced. Second, it was dried slowly on baking sheets in a warm - not hot - oven. The dried fruit was then stored in a cool place.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

> " . . . Miasa ne iily, iaiets ne iily, masla ne iily. . .Iily v olii, v olii, v olii. . ."[2]

> " . . . Meat was not eaten, eggs not eaten, butter was not eaten . . .We ate [ie. what could be eaten] what was prepared in *olii* , in *olii* , in *olii* . . ."

Social Activities/General Activities

The observance of a community-wide abstention from public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities during *Pylypivka* brought family and neighbourly socializing indoors. This period also coincided with the onset of winter, which made the move indoors into a sheltered environment neccessary. Further, because of the onset of winter, many of the practices and activities that were participated in (both indoors and outdoors), were tied into the settling of one's household, farm holdings, livestock and produce for the winter.

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

With the onset of winter, a number of specific tasks needed to be completed by every village family to prepare their household and holdings against the ravages of winter's cold, wind and snow. The first, and possibly the most important of these tasks involved winterizing one's home. If it was not done in the fall (when the weather was warmer to do so), *Pylypivka* was the last chance period to repair, patch and whitewash one's house for the winter. This particular task was considered to be the exclusive domain of the women in a family.* Repairs and patches were chinked by hand with a clay/straw/manure and water mixture known as " hlyna ". This mixture was typically mixed by foot in a shallow pit dug close to the actual working area of the house being repaired. After the repairs and patches were completely smoothed, a lime/chalk and water mixture known as " vapno " was used to whitewash and seal the chinked *hlyna* repairs.[1] Chinking and whitewashing, both the inside and outside walls, protected that house by sealing it from most winter winds and storms. This process inadvertantly also cleaned and freshened the interior walls and floors of a home (of water and/or smoke stains) for the upcoming winter and holiday hosting/visiting seasons. Following the chinking and whitewashing, the outside walls of a house were then insulated by a wooden plank structure filled with straw known as a " zakhata ". Wooden planks were driven side by side into the ground approximately one-and-a-half to two feet from the outside walls of a house to the height of the thatched roof overhang or " strikha ". The resulting space, which was created, was then filled with straw.[1] This *zakhata* effectively insulated the house by protecting it from most winter winds and snows, and unlike the chinking and whitewashing of the house, came under the responsibility of the men in a family.

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*All of the informants described this typical division of labour within a family.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

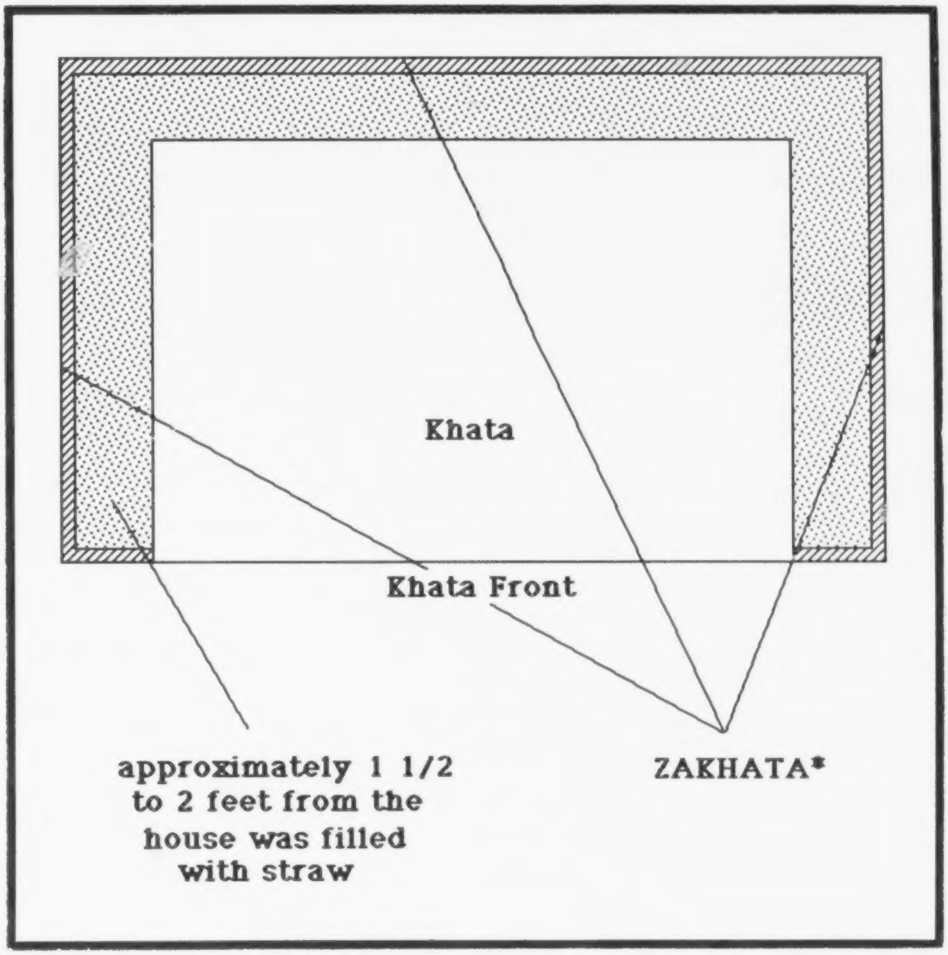
Khata
Khata Front
approximately 1 1/2 to 2 feet from the house was filled with straw
ZAKHATA*

Diagram 1: ZAKHATA* - Top view

* A boarded structure constructed approximately 1 1/2 to 2 feet from the outside walls of a KHATA (or house) which was filled with straw

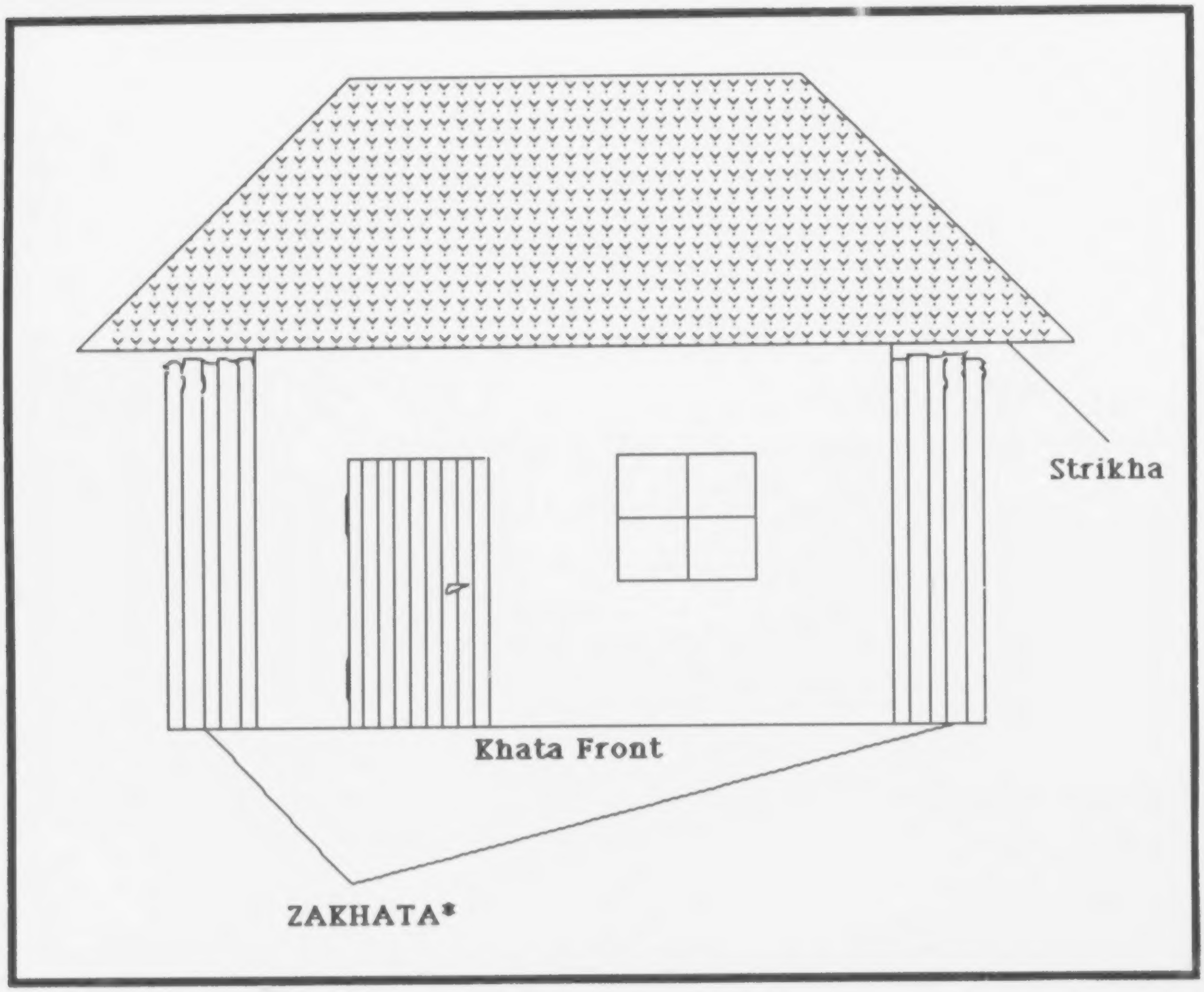
Strikha
Khata Front
ZAKHATA*

Diagram 2: ZAKHATA* - Side view

* A boarded structure constructed approximately 1 1/2 to 2 feet from the outside walls of a KHATA (or house) to the height of the STRIKHA (or thatched roof overhand) which was filled with straw

The second most important task during *Pylypivka* involved winterizing the farm buildings. While one's house was chinked, repaired, smoothed, whitewashed and insulated, barns, stables and/or granaries were simply chinked and smoothed, both inside and out, with the *hlyna* mixture* alone.

Groundskeeping of a family's owned property and fields fell under the exclusive domain of the men in a family.** If it had not already been done so following the harvest in the fall (again, when the weather was warmer) *Pylypivka* was the last chance to clear one's fields and grounds of all uneccessary growth, equipment, tools and debris, left over from the fall activities, before the first snows fell. The clean-up ranged from the oiling and storing away of scythes, sickles, harnesses and/or ploughs, to the clearing away of cooperage material left over from the making of household storage and/or pickling barrels and containers, to the bundling of debris produced from the husking and scraping of corn stalks and cobs (as well as linen and hemp stalks) for use as burning material in the household oven or " pich " (due to the scarcity of wood).[1] *Pylypivka* , (ie. during colder weather), was also the best time of year for cutting and splitting wood for fuel consumption (ie. for those who had wood).[2]

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*All of the informants described this effort as the only method used to winterize their farm outbuildings.

**All of the informants described this typical division of labour within a family.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Ibid.

While feeding the livestock could be done by any member of the family, the responsibility of bedding a family's animals for the winter fell under the exclusive domain of the men in a family. The required activities included the thorough cleaning of the stables, barns and/or pens, the commencement of the preparation of the specialized winter feed or chop known as " sichka ", and the stacking of the season's harvested hay.[1] A thorough cleaning of the stables, barns and/or pens followed the winterizing chinking and repairing of the outbuildings with the *hlyna* . Harvested hay was stacked just outside the main livestock building and *sichka* , the main winter feed for animals (excluding poultry), was made by finely chopping the wheat, rye, barley and/or oat stalks left from thrashing. Although thrashing and the making of *sichka* were winter long activities, they began during *Pylypivka* .

While most outdoor activities fell under the exclusive domain of the men in a family, most indoor activities fell under the exclusive domain of the women.* The activities involved included those associated with food preparation and/or storage (ie. cooking, baking, preserving, storing root vegetables etc.), cleaning (ie. sweeping, dusting, washing dishes, whitewashing etc.), clothing and domestic linens manufacture, repair and maintenance (ie. spinning, feather-tearing, sewing, embroidering, darning, laundering, ironing etc.).[2] Most of the preserving and storage of produce harvested from a family's garden would have been completed or nearly completed by *Pylypivka* . The same time frame applied to the chinking and whitewashing of the family home. It was in the area of clothing and domestic linens manufacture that much of the indoor activity focused during *Pylypivka* , and indeed throughout most of the winter season. With respect to the preparation of the family's winter wardrobe needs, it was the mother within each family (or the eldest daughter where there was no mother) who was responsible for ensuring that the family members were well clothed (ie. as well clothed as possible) for the upcoming winter season. She had to make sure that everyone was well-shoed and/or booted (including leggings etc.), well-hatted with hats and/ or caps, supplied with sufficient sturdy heavyweight trousers, skirts and/or shirts and protective outerwear which consisted of sheepskin coats, jackets and/or vests.[1]

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

*All of the informants agreed that essentially " women's work " centered in and about the family home, while " men's work " centered on the remainder of the outdoor chores and tasks. Harvesting however, involved the combined efforts of every able bodied member of the family regardless of sex.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #3.

Winter was a relatively quiet and inactive period work-wise in comparison to the outdoor labour intensive periods associated with spring, summer and/or fall fieldwork. As a result, a number of the time-consuming types of activities, usually requiring concentrated and collective effort, were transferred to the winter period. The types of activities which were participated in included feather-tearing (for the making of down filled pillows and quilts), spinning wool, linen and hemp threads (for weaving into clothing articles and domestic linens items such as tablecloths, towels, straw mattress covers and small area rugs), sewing and embroidering.

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

When a number of women, either married or single, gathered at a particular home to take part in any of the activities described in the previous paragraph, the gathering was known as a " toloka ".[1] Though task oriented, these sessions were lively socials where the participants worked together, gossiped, sang songs, joked and told tales. Every woman in the village however, did not host a *toloka* because not every family had the means to do so. The women who helped a particular woman with her feather-tearing, spinning, sewing and/or embroidery had to be rewarded for their efforts with food and drink at the end of such an evening. Therefore, much as every woman would have liked to have had a number of extra hands to help her complete these specific tasks, not every woman was able to do so.[2]

The fact that the village community abstained from public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities during *Pylypivka* did not interfere with normal family and neighbourly socializing indoors. Throughout *Pylypivka* , villagers continued to visit each other in their homes to talk, sing, eat, drink, play cards etc. much as they would have during any other time of the year when time and circumstances permitted.* In addition, visiting often took place at the end of an evening *toloka* when husbands would come to join their wives, and the younger single men would either come to join their sweethearts or come to meet and greet potential sweethearts. *Toloka* evenings were particularly enjoyed as highlights during the *Pylypivka* social season as evidenced by the following statement:

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #3.

*All of the informants mentioned this type of informal socializing occuring during the year. For a discussion on the importance of socializing within a village in Southern Malopolska (ie. Southern Galicia) as a means of accomplishing tasks, transmitting culture and information, etc. see Kazimierz Dobrowolski, " Peasant Traditional Culture " in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies, (Markham: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 277-298. See also " The Arts of Pleasure " in Koenig, Op. cit., pp. 539-570 for a description of the various pastimes (both indoor and outdoor) participated in by Ukrainians during the quiet winter months (ie.

> " Do takoii khaty ot skhodylysy de tam divcheta ie i tam vony pishly shchos' robyty! Ne sydity tai spivaty...odni priely a odni shyly...Ie, ie... shtyry, piet' divcheta a todi tam khloptsi ishly tai spivaly...Ta ia samyi ishov! Tse pered svietamy, v zymi, dva razy abo try razy na tyzhden'... Vony vpered robliet' a todi tam taki baiky opovidaiut' i vony priedut'... kozhda maie robotu...A des' u vos'mii, deviatii, khloptsi prykhodiet'...I navit' tak potim maiut' shchos' iisty i tak sobi spivaiut' i tak vo zabavliaiut'sia do dvanadtsietoii hodyny...My posidaly, hovoryly, spivaly... ale ne zavadzhaly! "[1]

> " At a designated house, the girls gathered to do some work! Not just to sit and sing...some would spin while others would sew...Yes, yes...four or five girls and then the boys would go there and everyone would sing... Why, I went myself! This was before the holidays, in the winter, two or three times a week...They would work first, spin, and tell tales...everyone had her own task...Then, around eight or nine o'clock the boys came over...Then afterwards there would be something to eat and then there would be singing and amusements until midnight...We [ie. the boys] would sit by, talk, sing...but never got in the way! "

Much of the enjoyment of the *Toloka* evenings came from the singing and storytelling that everyone took part in. The typical songs that were sung were taken from the vast repertoire of non-specific folk songs which were known in the village area.* Typical of the stories that were

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socializing at home, the market, at church or at the *korchma* (the tavern), games, story telling, singing, playing instuments, etc.).

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

told were those of the " Pan i Ivan " or " Master versus Servant " types that follow.[1]

Pan i Ivan (The Gentleman and the Peasant) Version I - The Masked Insult

A peasant was riding on his wagon on the road when he came upon the local landlord who himself was riding with his wife on his fine wagon drawn by his four fine horses. The landlord, however, wanted the peasant to move aside so that he could pass...(because after all, he was the wealthy landlord and the peasant was just a poor fellow). So the gentleman asked of the peasant " How much are your pigs? " The peasant answered " It depends on the type of pig...For those like your wife (ie. for fat pigs) - one pays well, but for those like you (ie. for thin pigs) - they are not worth anything!"

Pan i Ivan (The Gentleman and the Peasant) Version II - The Impossible Becomes Possible

It happened that on a road the local landlord and a simple peasant met headlong with their wagons. The peasant's wagon had a wide and heavy load of logs while the landlord's wagon carried only the man himself. The landlord, however, wanted the peasant to move aside so that he could pass. So the gentleman asked of the peasant " Would you move aside so that I may pass? " The peasant answered " No. " So the gentleman then told the peasant " I say, let me pass because I want to ride on. " The peasant answered " No. I will not let you pass. You move aside so that I may pass because my load is so awkward and heavy that if I try to move aside my wagon will turn over! " The two continued to argue back and forth until the peasant thought of an idea to resolve the impasse. The peasant then asked of the landlord " Would you be willing to kiss my mare in order to pass me on this road? " The gentleman answered " For God's sake! I will do it through a handkerchief! " And so it happened that a landlord kissed a peasant's mare...(And it probably did happen this way!).

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #3 and #6 as remembered fondly from the repertoire of his sister-in-law. Freely translated by the writer.

Pan i Ivan (The Gentleman and the Peasant) Version III - The Statement of Equality

A peasant was riding on his wagon on the road when he came upon the local landlord who himself was riding in his grand coach. When the two met an argument ensued as to who should have the right of way and who should move aside to let the other pass by. As time passed, and the gentleman kept insisting that he had the right of way, the peasant countered by saying " Chy Pan chy Ivan - Doroha dlia vsikh vazhna! " (Whether it is a lord or an ordinary man - The road is important for all who travel it!). And so it happened that a landlord yielded the right of way (ie. to the wisdom) of a simple peasant.

It appears that these typical tales and stories, which mocked the relationship between the landed gentry (who were typically non-Ukrainian) and the impoverished peasantry (who were typically Ukrainian), not only served as humourous anecdotes at the expense of the perceived oppressor - in these cases the rich landowner, but also served as positive social reinforcers for the Ukrainian villagers reminding them that their everyday lives have improved since the days of serfdom, and indeed, would only keep improving with the passage of time.

While many of the indoor activities during *Pylypivka* took place within private residences, many activities also took place in the local village reading room/community hall or " chytalnia ". Numerous gatherings, meetings, functions, sessions and drop-ins sponsored by various clubs, organizations and institutions (local and provincial) provided a rather full calendar of events which catered to almost every age and interest group within the village.* Throughout *Pylypivka* the local village priest held regular sessions for the youth in the area at the *chytalnia* to teach them the religious Christmas carols or " koliady " that they would need to know to sing in church, at home and/or as members of carolling groups that visited from house to house during the Christmas holiday season.[1] During *Pylypivka* (as well as generally throughout the year) the local village schoolteacher also held regular reading sessions for the school aged children in the area to reinforce what they had learned in school, as well as, oral reading sessions for the general public to inform them of any developments described in newspapers and publications that many of them were unable to read themselves. In many villages, these reading sessions were so well received that a number of reading clubs emerged (usually named in honour of a Ukrainian literary figure - such as Shevchenko, Franko, Kotliarevs'kyi etc.).[2] In addition, from time to time, the schoolteacher was often called upon to organize various theatrical productions involving the youth in the area. During *Pylypivka* , as a result, practices were often held at the local *chytalnia* for the annual St. Nicholas concert (usually performed at the local village school on or about the 19th of December). The provincial " Sich " youth organization[3] and the provincial " Sokol " athletic association[4] (ie. local village branches) also held their regular functions, meetings, and/or practices at the *chytalnia* throughout *Pylypivka* for their members.

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* Each informant talked of the increasing importance of the role of the *chytalnia* (particularly as an educating/informing institution) within their village areas prior to their emigration.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #3.

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #3.

The groups of boys and girls, adolescents, and/or young men and women who were planning to go carolling from house to house as members of entertainment troupes during the upcoming holiday season had to plan, prepare, sew and/or construct their costumes and/or props during *Pylypivka* . Items such as the " zvizda "* (a star prop), the intricate " koza " (she-goat) costume[1], or the miniature travelling nativity theatres known as a " shopka " or " vertep "[2] were time consuming projects for the various groups concerned and could not possibly be produced at the last minute. Thus, the required costumes and/or props had to be diligently prepared and made ready prior to the start of the festive Christmas holiday season during which they were to be used. The preparation and construction of the costumes and/or props which were used during the winter holiday season is described in greater detail in the sections entitled " Rizdvo " and " Celebratory Activities ".

Feast Days

The churches in the village areas from which the informants emigrated followed the Byzantine (or Orthodox) Rite in union with Rome.**

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*All of the informants mentioned that many of the carolling groups carried with them a prop in the shape of a star known as a " zvizda ".

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interviews #4 and #5.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #5.

**All of the informants professed adherence to the Ukrainian Catholic faith.

As such, a number of feast, saint or holy days were, according to religious adherence, observed during *Pylypivka* . These feast days included St. Andrew's Day (December 13th), St. Barbara's Day (December 17th), St. Nicholas' Day (December 19th) and St. Anne's Day (January 4th). On each of these days (indeed, on each day of the year) a mass was held in honour of the corresponding saint. Any, or all, villagers were welcome to attend if time, circumstances and/or needs permitted. Essentially, holy days or " sviata " were observed like Sundays in that one attended church, did not engage in serious work (ie. no laundering, ironing, sewing, embroidering, baking, housecleaning, chinking, whitewashing[1], or fieldwork, yardwork, chopping wood, making livestock feed or chop, driving livestock, fencing[2] etc.), and, either stayed at home and entertained visitors or went out to visit.* The only activities that could be undertaken on these days included primarily minor food preparation, presentation and clean-up (ie. reheating, setting and clearing the table and washing dishes), performing the neccessary chores for the upkeep of livestock or poultry (ie. feeding, milking, gathering eggs) and performing those tasks associated with transportation to church and/or visiting (ie. hitching wagons, driving).** The feast days of St. Andrew, St. Barbara, St. Nicholas and St. Anne could have also been observed as name-days. And finally, the above mentioned feast days were also observed extraordinarily. Each of these feast days will be described in turn.

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #5 and #6, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.
[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #2, and John Chillibecki, Interview #2.
*All of the informants spoke of the observance of Sundays and *sviata* as days of abstention from heavy work.
**Ibid.

St. Andrew's Day was observed on the 13th of December during the first week of *Pylypivka* .[1] This was an enthusiastically looked forward to feast day. The young unmarried ladies believed that on this day one could predict or foretell their marital destiny, indeed, identify the characteristics of their potential mate (if they should be so lucky), in the new year.* St. Andrew's Day was also known simply as " Andreia ", and when it was observed with all of its rituals, practices and beliefs by the young unmarried ladies in the village, it was said that one " . . . made [ie. celebrated] St. Andrew's " or " . . . robyly *Andreia* ".[2]

Andreia was an event normally hosted at one of the homes where an unmarried young lady lived. The hostess would ensure that she invited all of her unmarried female friends with the verbal invitation " Do mene pryidit'! " (Come to my place!).[3] The festivities associated with the observance of *Andreia* usually began in the early evening - after supper.** Generally speaking, the evening was a gay affair filled with superstitious beliefs and practices[4], laughter, singing and the playing of practical jokes - all accompanied by food and drink provided by the hostess. The various activities, in which the young women participated, are described following.[1]

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #5 and #6.

*All of the informants spoke rather fondly of the observance of St. Andrew's Day, particularly as it applied to the rituals and practices associated with predicting one's future mate and marital prospects for the upcoming year.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #5 and #6.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #2.

**All of the informants mentioned the observance of *Andreia* as an evening social.

[4] M. Dykarev, " Narodnyi kaliendar Valuis'koho povitu " (The Folk Calendar of Valuis'kyi County) in Materialy do ukrains'ko-rus'koi etnolohii Vol. VI (1905): p. 144 describes similar *Andreia* -type activities occuring on St. Katherine's Day in the Voronizh area of Russian administered Ukraine - a full week before St. Andrew's Day, whereas, Vasyl' Domanytskyi, " Narodnyi kaliendar u Rovens'kim poviti " (The Folk Calendar in Rivno County) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XV (1912): pp. 79-80, 89 describes various *Andreia* -type activities occuring on St. Katherine's Day, St. Andrew's Day, as well as, on New Year's Eve within the Volyn' district of Russian administered Ukraine.

When the young unmarried women arrived at the designated home to observe *Andreia* , each was put to task to make and bake a simple flour and water flat cake known as a " palanychka ". When all of the *palanychkas* were completed, each girl took her own outside to lay it on the ground not too far from the house. Each girl then went back into the house. From the window, each girl watched anxiously to see if the family dog (or one of the local dogs) came to the group of flat cakes. When a dog appeared (as one always did when the smell of fresh baked goods permeated the air) each girl noted two things: first, the direction from which the dog came, and second, which *palanychka* the dog ate (or took away to be eaten somewhere else). It was believed that whosever *palanychka* was selected - that girl would be the first within the gathered group to marry in the coming year. Further, the direction from which the dog came - that would be the direction from which her suitor would also come from.[2]

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[1] Most of the rituals, practices and beliefs that are described, are from the recollections of Nancy Samoil. Although she herself never hosted an *Andreia* evening, she was an observer of the activities and events of several *Andreia* evenings hosted by her older sister in the old country. See also " Swieta Andrej " in Kolberg, Op. cit., pp. 77-81 for an overview of the various superstitious activities comprising the *Andreia* evening social.

[2] Ivan Franko, " Narodnyi kaliendar na Pidhiriu " (The Folk Calendar in the Foothills) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. II (1896): p. 203 also mentions that dogs were used as key determiners/interpretors in various *Andreia* practices.

A second practice involving a *palanychka* went as follows. After the *palanychkas* were completed, each girl alone, in turn, went outside with her *palanychka* and either stood quietly, shouted, or made some kind of loud noise to attract the dog (or dogs) in the neighbourhood. If a dog either barked back from a distance or came up to her for the *palanychka* , two things were noted: first, if indeed there was a bark or a dog that came up to her to take her *palanychka* , and second, the direction from which the bark and/or the dog came from (if there was a bark or if a dog did come up to her). It was similarly believed that the direction from which the bark or the dog came would be the direction from which a potential suitor would come (if indeed one were to come in that year).

Another practice involved the carrying of a mouthful of water from one point to another. Amidst joking and joviality each girl, in turn, took a mouthful of water drawn from the household well and was to walk past the entire group of girls gathered that evening to a predesignated spot on the property. While this task may sound simple, during the time that each girl carried her mouthful of water every effort was made by the other girls to make her laugh (through joking, cajolling, the playing of practical jokes etc.) and thereby force her to spill that mouthful of water. In the meantime, while the girl was carrying her mouthful of water, she was supposed to think of a special boy that she would like as her suitor. If the girl was able to carry her mouthful of water (without spilling any of it) from the well to the predesignated point past the group of laughing and incorrigible girls - that girl would have that special boy come to her as a potential suitor in the coming year.

Perhaps one of the most romantic of St. Andrew's Day superstitious practices involved the cultivation of fruit tree cuttings (this, of course, was done only if there were some fruit trees on the property of the hostess for the evening). Each young lady was allowed to take home a small cutting from the fruit tree at the end of the evening. At home, she would immediately place that cutting in a jar of water and would nurture it throughout *Pylypivka* and the following holiday season. At the end of the holiday season, she was to examine her cutting to see if it either spread roots or produced buds. It was believed, that if the cutting rooted and/or blossomed - the love life of its owner would also blossom and grow (and quite probably end up in marriage) in the upcoming year. If the branch did not root and/or bud, its owner would also not experience love and/or marriage in the new year.

There were a couple of outdoor rituals which were supposed to predict the physical attributes of one's future suitor and/or mate. One of these practices involved the counting of fenceposts.[+] Starting at a given post which was the same for every participant, each girl, in turn, walked along the fence touching each fence post saying in an alternating fashion words to the effect of "... I will marry! " and "... I will not marry! ". At a predesignated fence post, which was randomly selected by one of the other girls in the group, the counting girl proceeded until she reached her particular end post. It was believed that whichever saying the counting

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[+] Fences in the old country were typically made of intertwined willow branches which were repaired quite frequently. As such, the shapes, strengths, ages and sizes of the fenceposts (as well as the interweavings) varied markedly from post to post and from section to section of the same fence.

girl ended up on her predesignated post - determined whether or not she would marry in the forthcoming year.[1]

A second practice involving the counting of fenceposts went as follows. Again, starting at a given fencepost, which was the same for every girl, each girl, in turn, walked along the fence touching each fencepost. This time however, one of the girls from the group shouted out a random number to which the girl counted up to as she walked along the fenceposts. When the counting girl stopped at the number that was shouted out to her, she examined the qualities of the particular fencepost she ended on. Was the fence post strong, weak, straight, crooked, tall, short, old, green, leafy, bare etc.? It was believed that the qualities of the particular fence-post that she stopped at would be similar to the qualities of her potential suitor in the coming year. For example, if a girl stopped at a post which was strong, straight, tall and quite green - it meant that her potential suitor and/or mate in the upcoming year would be a tall, dashing and handsome, strong young man. If on the other hand, a girl stopped at a post which was old, crooked, broken, bare and in need of repair or replacement - it meant that her potential suitor and/or mate in the coming year would be a hunched and crippled, bald, sickly old man.[2]

While the celebration and observance of *Andreia* centered around fortune-telling and the prediction of the romantic futures of the young unmarried ladies within the village community, it was by no means exclusively a female social activity. The young unmarried men in the village also knew where the women were " ... making *Andreia* " and, as a result, usually came uninvited to the same event. Further, they made their presence known in humorous ways.[1] Their coming however, was not an unwelcomed event and eventually resulted in a very congenial social time for all concerned - after their antics were over. It appears that the primary role played by the young men in the conduct of *Andreia* was in the creation of humorous excitement (usually in the form of playing practical jokes) during the superstitious portion of the evening devoted to the interests of the young women.[2] Admittedly, as evidenced by the following statement, the men saw themselves as pleasant irritants for the evening:

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #2, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #3.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #2, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #3, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

> " Zvychaino khloptsi na zbytky to vs'o robyly, shchoby divchata rozsmikhaty. . . Parubky nu, ne mali khloptsi! I tam, iak vony zabavliaiut'sia na toho *Andreia* , ia znaiu. . . prymirom. . . to vony potomu tam idut' rakhuvaty koly - kotra viddastia borshe. . . A [pered tym] vony idut' i ti koly namashchuiut' dekhchym.+ I vony namashuiut' toiu maziukoiu na zbytky, na zbytky! I ti divky idut' i rakhuiut', rakhuiut', ta sobi toho dekhtiu naberut' na ruku. . . A ti rekhotiat'sia, i vony smiut'sia z nykh! To bula odnykh iz tykh zaniat na toho *Andreia* . "[3]

> " It was the custom for boys to always play pranks on the girls - to make them laugh. . . Young men that is, not little boys! And there, how everyone took part in the celebrations of *Andreia* , I know. . . for example. . . later, they went to count the fenceposts to see who would get married sooner. . . But [before that time] they went and smeared

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[2] Ibid.
[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #3 and #6. Freely translated by the writer.

> the fenceposts with dekh.[+] And they smeared that grease as a prank, a prank! And those girls went and counted, counted, and collected that grease on their hands. . . And they [the boys] started to laugh, and the others started to laugh at them! That was one of those activities on that *Andreia* ."

In addition to the practical jokes that the young men played on the young women (which affected the actual performance of certain superstitious practices), the men also provided ongoing humorous commentary on the preceedings that they were watching. They also tried to physically disrupt the activities of the evening. These physical disruptions included trying to barricade the household door from the outside to prevent the girls from going outdoors to perform some of their rituals, as well as, hiding items which were to be used in some of the practices etc.[*]

When all of the superstitious, ritualistic and comedic activities were concluded for the evening, both the young men and women retired into their hostess' home for some well deserved refreshments and to continue their socializing. The rest of the evening was spent talking, singing, telling stories and of course, telling jokes - all to pass some pleasant time with sweethearts, or more importantly, to spend some time to become better aquainted with potential sweethearts.[1] The evening ended at approximately midnight - when the parents of the hostess returned to their home after an evening's absence. It was felt by all of the young

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[+] " Dekh " or " D'ohot' " was a birch sap grease produced and sold by the Hutsuls from the Carpathian mountains. It was primarily used as an axle/wheel grease for the moving parts of the wooden transport wagons found throughout Galicia.

[*] All of the informants mentioned these types of mischievous activities that the young men concocted to create mild havoc and fun throughout the *Andreia* evening.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #3 and #6.

unmarried participants (as well as by the parents of the participants) that chaperones impacted rather negatively on the typically spontaneous, unpredictable and jovial nature of *Andreia* .[1]

St. Barbara's Day was observed on the 17th of December and fell between *Andreia* and St. Nicholas' Day.[2] Although vaguely remembered by the informants as having been observed in their native village areas during *Pylypivka* , no specifics in regards to the observances associated with the feast of St. Barbara could be recalled.[3] It is quite possible that it could have either been observed simply as a church holy day, a church patron saint feast day and/or as someone's name day.

St. Nicholas' Day was observed on the 19th of December and was fondly recalled as the other highlight of *Pylypivka* following *Andreia* .* Similarly, as with *Andreia* , St. Nicholas' Day was also simply known as " Mykolaia ".** This was an enthusiastically looked forward to feast day for the children within a family in that, on this day, it was believed that

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #2 and #5.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[3] IUryi Zhatkovych, " Narodnyi kaliendar z Uhors'koi Rusy " (The Folk Calendar from Hungarian Rus') in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. II (1896): p. 10 describes St. Barbara's Day as a semi-holiday in that participation in the activities of spinning and/or weaving was forbidden. This day was also considered the winter solstice for it was said that. . ." Varvara den' urvala, nich prytochyla " (Barbara shortens the day, and lengthens the night). Similar descriptions of St. Barbara's Day are also found in Franko, Op. cit., p. 203 and Dykarev, Op. cit., p. 145. Domanytskyi, Op. cit., pp. 81-82 includes a song dedicated to St. Barbara - without a melody.

*All of the informants mentioned the observance of *Mykolaia* , not only as church holy day and/or a nameday, but also as a special children's day.

**All of the informants agreed on this nomenclature and alternated in its pronunciation from " Mykolaia " to " Nykolaia ".

St. Nicholas or " Sviatyi Mykolai " rewarded with gifts - those children who were good, well behaved, patient, hard-working and who honoured and treated their parents and elders with respect. This day, for many parishes in both Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties, was also quite important since many of the churches were named in honour of St. Nicholas. As such, the celebration of the church patron saint feast day, the " praznyk ", involved many of the villagers in socializing and hosting activities. Additionally, St. Nicholas' Day could also have been observed as someone's nameday. Each of these aspects in the observance of *Mykolaia* will be described in turn.

The following legend was associated with the observance of *Mykolaia* :

> " Kazaly. . .shcho vin [*Sviatyi Mykolai*] tak pomahav. . .Kolys' bula divchyna (tak same bidni buly liudy). . .i bidna, znaiut', vzhe ne khochut' braty. . .bo bidna. A *Nykolai* , kazaly, vin tak v nohy cherez vikno kynuv torbu hroshei ti divchyni. *Sviatyi Nykolai* ii pomih. Vo, iak vin kynuv hroshi ii cherez vikno, vona vzhe mala hroshi i vzhe mohla sia viddaty. Avo, take hovoryly! "[1]

> " It was said. . .that he [St. Nicholas] helped those in need. . .A long time ago, there lived a very poor girl (even then there lived poor people) . . .and she was so poor that no-one wanted her as a bride [because she had no dowry]. But St. Nicholas, it was said, helped that poor girl by tossing a bag full of money through her window which landed at her feet. St. Nicholas helped her. And so, when he threw her that money through the window, she then had a dowry, and was able to get married. And so, that is what people said! "

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[1] From the repertoire of Nancy Samoil. Freely translated by the writer.

It was from this legend (and undoubtedly, from many other legends which had as their theme - a beneficent St. Nicholas) that eventually, a concept developed wherein the celebration of *Mykolaia* came to be known and associated with the giving of gifts to deserving children*. In fact, a song was sung in church on *Mykolaia* , as well as, during the annual St. Nicholas Day children's concert held at the village school, which had as its theme - the beneficent *Sviatyi Mykolai* :

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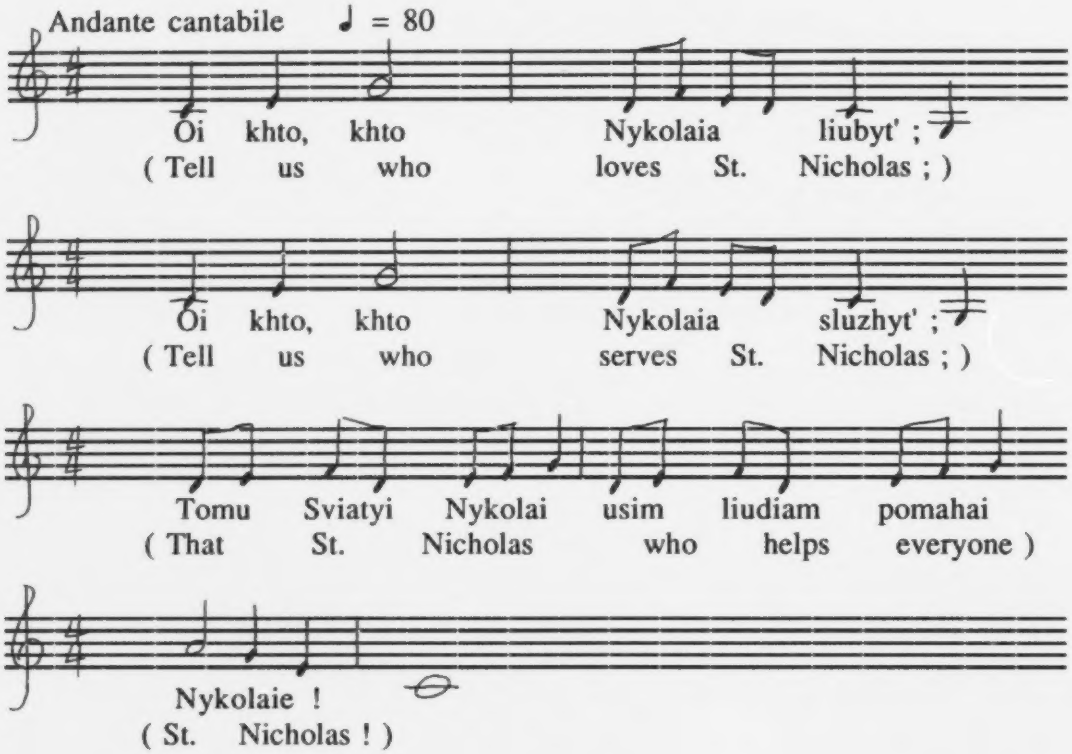
* Concured with by all of the informants.

Oi Khto, Khto Nykolaia Liubyt'[1]
(Tell Us Who Loves St. Nicholas)


Andante cantabile ♩ = 80
Oi khto, khto Nykolaia liubyt' ;
(Tell us who loves St. Nicholas ;)
Oi khto, khto Nykolaia sluzhyt' ;
(Tell us who serves St. Nicholas ;)
Tomu Sviatyi Nykolai usim liudiam pomahai
(That St. Nicholas who helps everyone)
Nykolaie !
(St. Nicholas !)

As mentioned previously in the section describing general activities throughout *Pylypivka* , the village schoolteacher supervised school children, in their rehearsals at the local *chytalnia* in preparation for the annual St. Nicholas Day concert. On the evening of the 19th of December, the children, dressed in their " Sunday best " clothing, and, accompanied by their parents, went to school to participate in the concert that they had been preparing so diligently. The concert itself was a mix of Christmas carols or " koliady ", recitations and playlets. The grand finale of the evening involved the appearance of *Sviatyi Mykolai* himself, dressed in all his elaborate church vestments - including a mitred hat normally worn by bishops at the time.[1] It appears, that somehow, despite the abject poverty of the typical village family at that time, every parent tried to pass on a gift through *Sviatyi Mykolai* to their children - even if it was a simple gift of peanuts[2], candies and/or some loose change neatly tied in a piece of paper.

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer. This compares with the text of a *koliada* sung in the Vorinizh area in Russian administered Ukraine (See Dykarev, Op. cit., p. 149):

IA khto-khto Mykolaia liube
IA khto-khto Mykolaia sluzhe
A ty, sviatyi Mykolai
(Velykyi Boh Mykolai)
Na vsiakyi chas pomahai!

St. Nicholas' Day, for many of the parishes in Austrian administered Ukraine, was also the day of celebration in honour of its patron saint feast day. This day was known as " praznyk ".* The observance of *praznyk* was one of the most festive celebratory days of the church's calendar involving most of the parishioners in socializing and hosting activities. The day began with a solemn mass held at the particular church in question (in this case, on St. Nicholas' Day on the 19th of December) to which all of the villagers not only from the immediate village, but also from all of the neighbouring villages, were invited to attend.[1] Following mass, the local parishioners then invited one of the neighbouring visitors and/or families to their homes. Family members and friends from the neighbouring villages were generally the first to be invited. However, those who had no family and/or friends in neighbouring villages, often welcomed strangers into their home (many of whom became friends afterwards). Likewise, when another village's church held its *praznyk* at a different time of the year, the neighbouring villagers, in turn, travelled to the particular church in question and were then reciprocally entertained and hosted by the parishioners. *Praznyks* were regular rotational church festivals observed not only during *Pylypivka* , but throughout the entire year by the particular parishes concerned.[2]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #3.

[2] It is interesting to note that by the turn of the century, peanuts or " Amerykanski horikhy " were available through the local village store. These were differentiated from the typical nuts of the region - walnuts, (" horikhy " or " volosky "). Nancy Samoil, Interview #4.

*All of the informants used this nomenclature, while only one - Dmytro Kostash, also referred to this church patron saint feast day as a " khram ".

Mykolaia could have also been celebrated as someone's nameday.* As such, its observance was a relatively straightforward matter - not unlike the observance of birthdays today. On the particular individual's nameday in question, family and/or friends would gather at that person's home, usually with treats and/or liquid refreshments in hand, to wish him or her " . . . shchastia, zdorovia ta mnohykh, mnohykh lit ! " or " . . . happiness, health and a long life ! ". These gatherings were typically private socials - celebrated with an intimate circle of family and/or friends wherein the participants ate, drank, talked, sang, told stories, joked, gossiped etc. much as they would during any other get-together held during *Pylypivka* , indeed throughout the entire year. Neither children nor adults were excluded from these well wishing celebrations, and all who came to offer greetings and best wishes were welcomed.[*]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Nancy Samoil Interview #5.

[2] Ibid. See also Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 140-145 for a description of *praznyk* festivities in the Voronizh district of Russian administered Ukraine.

*All of the informants mentioned that the celebration of birthdays were virtually unheard of in the old country. In their place, namedays were considered " special ", and thus, celebrated. An individual's nameday usually coincided with the nearest saint's day of the actual day that the person in question was baptized.

The feast day of St. Anne was a church holy day observed on the 4th of January wherein a mass was celebrated to honour that saint[1]. The actual day however, was referred to as " Anna Zachatii "[2] (literally the Conception of St. Anne). It appears however, that while " Anna Zachatyia " is the name of the feast day of the Conception of St. Anne, the term " zachatii " (which also means " to begin ") was interpretted literally to give clearer insight as to the meaning of this particular day. As evidenced by the following statement, this day was a significant milepost prior to the winter holiday season in that it marked that within three days the Christmas holidays were to begin:

> " *Anna Zachatii* . . . to sviato iakyi blyz'ko odno . . . tak iak sehodni to sviato i tak zaraz tretyi den' vzhe *Rizdvo* ! "[3]

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[*] All of the informants mentioned this type of celebration as typical in the observance of someone's nameday - either young or old.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. In actuality, the 4th of January in accordance with the Julian Church Calendar, is the feast day of St. Anastasia (the 22nd of December on the Gregorian Calendar).

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. In actuality, *Anna Zachatyia* (The Conception of St. Anne) is observed on the 22nd of December in accordance with the Julian Church Calendar (the 9th of December on the Gregorian Calendar).

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

> " *Anna Zachatii* . . . it was a feast close to another one . . . for example, if it was that feast day today, soon, within three days, *Rizdvo* will begin ! "

For all practical purposes, it appears that the feast day of *Anna Zachatii* , as it was interpretted, served to remind everyone that there were only three days left in *Pylypivka* to complete any final domestic preparations for the upcoming holiday season.

The Winter Holiday Season

The winter holiday season (which was also referred to simply as " Sviata " by all of the informants), included the observance of the following: Christmas or " Rizdvo "; New Year's or " Novyi Rik "; and, the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan ". All of the informants observed these (indeed, all church holidays) according to the Julian calendar. As a result, *Rizdvo* was observed on the 7th of January*, *Novyi Rik* was observed on the 14th of January and *Iordan* was observed on the 19th of January. Each of these holidays, along with their associated observances and celebrations, will be described and discussed in turn.

Rizdvo

The observance of *Rizdvo* generally encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period.** First, came the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of Christmas Eve or " Sviatyi Vechir ". The second part was comprised of the activities associated with the observance and celebration of the three feast days of *Rizdvo* , namely, Christmas Day or " Rizdvo (specifically)", Boxing Day or " Zbory " and the Feast of Stephen or " Stefana ". In addition, there were celebratory activities which were performed during *Rizdvo* by groups of young boys and girls, as well as adolescents, and which had been rehearsed and prepared during *Pylypivka* . These activities included the performance of door to door mummer/puppet theatricals known as " Koza " and as " Shopka " within the immediate neighbourhood areas within the villages concerned. All of these preparations, observances and celebrations will be described and discussed in greater detail.

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*All of the informants were quite specific in their discrimination between the two calendars stating that the " other " Christmas celebrated on the 25th of December was the " Polish " Christmas.

**All of the informants agreed on this sub-division in the observance of *Rizdvo* .

Sviatyi Vechir

While the preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* were essentially the culmination of all of the domestic activities already mentioned within an individual household during *Pylypivka* , there were nonetheless, specific preparations which had to be completed before the Christmas Eve observances associated with *Sviatyi Vechir* (and the beginning of the winter holiday season) could begin. These immediate preparations began approximately two to three days before *Sviatyi Vechir* - coinciding with the feast day of St. Anne (St. Anastasia).[1] The preparations and activities also ensured that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the three and half day Christmas holiday period which stretched from dusk on Christmas Eve, through Christmas Day, Boxing Day, ending with the conclusion of the day of the Feast of St. Stephen.[2] For the men in a family, it meant that all of the heavy labour out of doors had to be completed. Their activities included those connected with either the care of livestock and/or the provisioning of the neccessary heating and cooking fuels for their household. Essentially, all that the men were allowed to do during the upcoming holiday period was to feed their livestock, milk any cows that they had, and drive their families to church and/or to family and friends for visiting. For the women in a family, preparing for *Rizdvo* meant that all of the heavy labour indoors had to be completed. Their activities included those connected with either housecleaning and/or the preparation and cooking of all the neccessary foodstuffs and dishes for their household. Essentially, all that the women were allowed to do during the holiday period was to reheat food for their families and/or visitors, do minor housekeeping (such as bed-making) and wash any dishes that needed to be washed between meals (and between visitors).[1] With these definitions of allowable and appropriate tasks in the division of labour, the holidays or " sviata " were treated and spent as a series of Sundays - that is, they were observed as a series of days of rest. As demonstrated by the following, *sviata* meant not having to do any type of work:

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[2] All of the informants mentioned that *Rizdvo* stretched from dusk on the 6th of January through to the end of the day on the 9th of January - in accordance with the Julian calendar. Mytropolyt Ilarion, Dokhrystians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu (Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People), (Winnipeg: Tovarystvo Volyn', 1981), pp. 272-273 confirms this generalized practice of all work ceasing by Christmas Eve so that the upcoming holiday season can be properly observed.

> " Na svieta musyt' buty vse zrobleno. A iakzhe ia v svieta budu [robyty]? Pryide. . .skazhe. . . ' Shcho tse iakis' ZHyd chy shos' shcho vy robyty v svieta ? ' "[2]

> " For the holidays everything has to be finished. How would it be if I worked? Someone would come. . .and say. . . ' What are you - Jewish, that you are working during the holidays ?' "

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[1] Antin Onyshchuk, " Narodnyi kaliendar u Zelenytsi " (The Folk Calendar in Zelenytsi) in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XV (1912): pp. 15-16 describes similar preparations occuring immediately preceeding *Sviatyi Vechir* among the Hutsuls in Carpathian Galicia.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

The responsibilities that the men within a family had essentially included all of the regular outside chores requiring heavy labour. The first of these chores was the cleaning out of the stables where a family's livestock was housed and then bedding the stalls down with fresh clean hay. The second of these chores involved the cutting and piling of enough straw, hay and chop or " sichka "[1] for the livestock to feed on throughout the entire three and a half days of *sviata* . Both of these activities were very time consuming. Another activity involved ensuring that the grounds surrounding one's house and holdings were tidied up. In addition, there was a requirement to ensure that enough wood was cut to last through the three and half days of *Rizdvo* and/or that enough alternate fuel* was available for the household. And finally, any last minute preparations, such as the purchase and/or barter of any needed items (for example, slaughtering a pig, the purchase of fresh fish, alchohol etc.) from the nearest market, the local village store, or from the local tavern, was taken care of by the men in a family.[2]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. The making of *sichka* involved the chopping of straw accumulated from the harvesting and thrashing of the grains that a family grew during the year. *Sichka* was produced when straw was cut into fine enough pieces that the livestock could easily chew on. Typically, for cattle, the stalks were cut into 3 - 4 inch lengths. For horses, the length of the stalks were finer - cut into 1 - 2 inch lengths. While cattle could chew on virtually any straw that was cut, horses required oat stalks (or a straw mixture containing oat stalks). Pigs on the other hand ate anything.

*All of the informants mentioned that there were many impoverished villagers who were so poor that they could not afford to buy wood to heat their homes and/or to cook with. As a result, many of them had to use alternate fuels such as straw, dried corn cobs, stems and husks, as well as, the husks and stems of flax and hemp plants.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

The responsibilities of women essentially included all of the regular indoor chores requiring heavy labour. The first of these chores included the thorough cleaning of the family home (that is, whitewashing the walls, smoothing and cleaning the floors, laundering the neccessary table and bed linens etc.).[1] Second, it involved the laundering of the family's clothing to be worn during the *sviata* . And finally, the last of these chores involved the preparation and cooking of the requisite dishes, for *Sviatyi Vechir* , as well as, enough of a variety of food to last through the upcoming three days of *Rizdvo* .[2] Of these chores, food preparation was, by far, the most time consuming.

The end of *Pylypivka* , just prior to *Rizdvo* , was one of the two times during the calendar year* that a typical village family slaughtered, or participated in the slaughter of a pig[3], and hence, was one of the rare times that there might be an abundance of meat in the typical family diet.** The following describes how special (and expensive) it was to have meat in the family diet - even if it was only during the holiday seasons:

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[1] Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 266 mentions that the home was thoroughly cleaned before any major holiday to remove any existing evil(s) which could affect the family during the celebratory period concerned.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

* The only other time of the calendar year that a pig would have been slaughtered was during Lent - just before Easter.

[3] M. Kramarenko, " Rizdviani sviatky v stanytsi Pavlivs'kii " in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. I (1895): p. 1 confirms that some type of meat had to be prepared for the Christmas holidays. If killing a pig was not possible, villagers killed a goose, duck, chicken or turkey to be able to have some meat on the family table.

**All of the informants commented that most families could not afford to purchase meat on a regular basis throughout the year. As a result, meat became a much looked forward to treat during the two most important calendar holidays of the year - Christmas and Easter. In addition, each family tried to have meat when it celebrated major life cycle events (ie. christenings, marriages and/or for funerals). Basically, families strove to have meat during those times when it was known that there were to be visitors and/or guests in their homes.

" Tak v starim kraiu ne bulo tak iak tut v Kanadi shcho zarizyv sobi telie chy patsiuka. . .Tam iak zarizyly pered svietamy. . .O nas ie shtyry, i my pishly kupyly svyniu odnu (bo tam odyn ne hoden buv kupyty) i tu svyniu zarizaly, podilyly. . .Odyn cholovik podilyv to faino (bo ne bulo vahy tak iak tut shcho pomiryv). Toi shcho rizav rubav us'oho po kaval'chykovi, i kydav na shtyry kupy. . .I vs'oho po kaval'chyku, tak iak sho vin rozumiv sho bulo v ti svyny. I vzhe, iak vs'o podiliv, i todi pershyi bere patychok, a toi bere mechyk, a toi bere shchos' inakshoho i kydaly v kapeliukh. O, i bula dytyna mozhe shist' abo sim rokiv, i kazhut' do toi dytyny: " Bery toi patychok odyn i klady na tu kupku tut. . . " I ta dytyna brala to i klala na kozhnu kupku ti patychky. . .I v kotroho buv patychok, to vin brav tu kupku! Tak, tak sy dilyly! "[1]

" In the old country, it was not like here in Canada where you can go and slaughter yourself a calf or a pig when you wanted to. . .There, when you slaughtered before the holidays [it was a big deal]. . .For example, there would be four of us, and we would go to buy one pig (because there, one person could not afford to buy a whole pig on his own) and that pig would be slaughtered and divided between us. . .One of the four who knew how to butcher, would divide the pig (because there, there were no scales like you have here to weigh). The man who butchered and divided the pig, did it piece by piece, and divided up the pieces into four piles. . .He divided up the pig by pieces as best as he knew how to butcher. When the entire pig was divided, the first person took a stick, the second person took a matchstick, and then the others took something else and all of them put those items in a hat. Then, to any six or seven year old child passing by they would ask of that child to take the items from the hat and place each of them by one of the piles of divided meat. That child would then place one of the items by each of the piles, and whosever's item was on whatever pile - that was the portion of the divided pig that that person took home. That is how people used to divide up a butchered pig! "

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #3. Mr. Chillibecki recalls that he himself was one of those children asked to assign markers to divided portions of a slaughtered and butchered pig. Freely translated by the writer.

If some pork was purchased prior to the Christmas holidays*, a number of different meat products were prepared, which were then enjoyed during the three days of *Rizdvo* . The foods which could have been prepared included: a smoked ham called " shynka "; a smoked sausage called " kobasa "; a boiled sausage called " sal'tseson " or " mats'ok "; a headcheese called " studenets " or " hyshky "; a blood sausage called " kyshky "; and, if any sizeable pieces of meat or gristle were leftover, they could have either been smoked, baked or rendered for fat.[1] The portions of a slaughtered and butchered pig that a family received, determined which of the above mentioned meat products were prepared.

The smoking of meat was a relatively simple process for a family due to the nature of construction of the typical family home or " khata ". Houses typically did not have extended chimneys. When the family heating/cooking oven (known as a " pich ") was used, smoke escaped via an internal chimney above the ceiling into the space which existed between the ceiling and the pitch of the thatched roof. The smoke which collected within that space, then, slowly dissipated through the thatched roof. Any meats and/or sausages which needed curing and/or cooking would simply be put on makeshift racks placed above the ceiling or hung from the rafters to smoke in the smoke produced from using the household *pich* .* *Kobasa* was a smoked sausage made using a filling which was half diced and/or chunked pork meat and half ground pork tailings and gristle, which was seasoned with salt, pepper and garlic and then stuffed into cleaned intestinal casings. A completed sausage was then typically tied end to end to form a circle and smoked anywhere from five to eight hours (depending on how hot the *pich* and/or the smoke was during the curing process).[1]

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*It was noted by all of the informants, that the purchase of meat (ie. pork) was optional prior to the Christmas holidays. Essentially, only those families who could afford it, had some meat during the Christmas holiday season. On the other hand, the purchase meat was not optional prior to the Easter holidays. Every family, no matter how poor it was, strove to have even the smallest piece of meat in their Easter basket.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

Sal'tseson or *Mats'ok* was a boiled sausage not unlike today's commercially produced headcheese sausages. It was made using a filling of diced and/or shredded pork tailings (such as, hocks, internal organs, skin and/or tougher portions of meat) combined with enough water to moisten and bind the ingredients. This filling was seasoned with salt, pepper and garlic and then stuffed into the cleaned stomach of the pig and tied at both ends. The sausage was then placed in a large pot of boiling water and simmered anywhere from three to five hours (depending on when enough gelatin was produced to be able to form the sausage). After the sausage was cooked, it was removed from the pot and placed between two large plates - the top of which was weighted down. This process allowed the sausage to cool and set, while at the same time, pressed it into a form which could be easily sliced.[2] *Studenets* or *Hyshky* was a primitive type of headcheese made from the meat and skin of boiled pigs feet. The boiling of pigs feet produced a gelatin, to which the diced and/or shredded meat, as well as the skin, of the boiled pigs feet were added.

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*All of the informants mentioned this type of curing/cooking process.
[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.
[2] Ibid.

Quite often, cooked tailings of the pig were also added and combined at this stage of preparation. This mixture was seasoned with salt, pepper and garlic and then poured into a large shallow bowl or pan where it was allowed to cool and set.[1] *Kyshky* was a blood sausage made with a filling of buckwheat, corn, rye, oat and/or barley groats (or any combination thereof) to which the blood of a slaughtered pig was added to moisten and bind the mixture. This filling was seasoned with salt, pepper, onions and garlic and then stuffed into cleaned intestinal casings. As with *kobasa* , a completed sausage was then typically tied end to end to form a circle, but unlike *kobasa* , it was boiled anywhere from one to two hours to solidify the filling.[2]

Most of the pork foodstuffs that were prepared were versatile enough to be served either hot or cold. *Shynka* , or any smoked meaty pieces (such as bacon), could either be baked, boiled, fried or served cold. *Kobasa* and *Kyshky* were equally as versatile. On the other hand, *Sal'tseson* or *Mats'ok* , as well as *Studenets* or *Hyshky* , were only served cold as heating these dishes would only serve to melt the gelatin holding these meaty mixtures together.[3] While smoked items had a longer storage life than did boiled items, most of the meat products that were produced for a given holiday period were consumed during that period. This was primarily due to the limited quantities that could be purchased, and subsequently, be produced. If there were any meat products left after a holiday period, usually, it was either the smoked bacon , pieces or rendered fat, or both. These foodstuffs were then incorporated sparingly, as flavouring agents, into the primarily vegetarian family diet.[1]

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

Just as the meat foodstuffs which were to be consumed during the three days of *Rizdvo* were made just before *Sviatyi Vechir* , so too, were the dishes which were to be consumed on *Sviatyi Vechir* . *Sviatyi Vechir* fell on the last day of *Pylypivka* . As a result, all of the dishes which were prepared for that meal were meatless and milkless (regardless of the day of the week that *Sviatyi Vechir* fell on).[2] Ideally, twelve different dishes were prepared for the evening meal.[3] Realistically however, one prepared as many dishes as the family could afford. Many families prepared only enough food for the number of family members which were to be present at the evening meal[4], and therefore, did not prepare the excess amount of food that twelve dishes would have represented. Other families, on the other hand, considered the number of ingredients within the various foodstuffs prepared as separate dishes in themselves.[5] While the menu may have varied from household to household, one dish, which was known as " kutia " (a moist stew-like mixture of ground poppy seeds, boiled hulled wheat kernels, honey or sugar and water), was prepared in all homes.* A typical menu for the *Sviatyi Vechir* meal included some, or all, or any combination of the following dishes:[1] *kutia* ; *borshcht* ; *holubtsi* (at least two types of fillings); *pyrohy* (at least two types of fillings); mushrooms; fish (at least two types); sauerkraut; beans; peas; beets; root vegetables; bread; a circular braided bread loaf known as a " kolach "; *sushenie* ; doughnuts known as " pampukhy "; and, tea and/or alchohol. Typical recipes and methods of preparation for these dishes are described following.

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

[2] All of the informants emphasized that the dishes which were prepared for the observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* had to be - and were - meatless and milkless.

[3] Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 16 states that among the Hutsuls 12 dishes were arbitrarily prepared for the *Sviata Vecheria* . The dishes which were prepared included: *holubtsi* ; " pshenytsia " (*kutia*); peas; " bib " (mashed beans); " kulesha " (cornmeal porridge); cabbage; potatoes; plum *borshcht* (fruit compote); *pyrohy* (two types of fillings - plums and saurkraut); turnips; and, fish. Zhatkovych, Op. cit., p. 10 mentions that on *Sviatyi Vechir* fortune-tellers had phenominal powers, and as such, it was important to prepare 7 or 9 dishes to counter any potential bad fortune that could be caused on that evening.

[4] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

[5] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Kutia (which was also alternatively called " pshenytsia " by all of the informants) was a ritual dish for *Sviatyi Vechir* containing those foodstuffs representing the bounty of a particular family's harvest.[2] In fact, simply having the *kutia* was special in and of itself for it was said:

> " . . .shcho ta sviata vechera bula naikrashcha i naibahatsha bo pshenytsia bula! "[3]

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[*] All of the informants mentioned that *kutia* was a requisite dish prepared for the *Sviata Vechera* .

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interviews #5 and #6, John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #6, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interviews #4 and #6. See also " Rol' iizhi v sviatakh ta obriadakh kalendarnoho tsyklu " (The Role of Food during the Holidays and Calendar Cycle Observances " in Artiukh, Op. cit., pp. 103-111.

[2] For a discussion of the archaeological evidence confirming the antiquity of the various agricultural occupations and persuits of the Ukrainians (ie. farming, grain cultivation, gardening, fruit cultivation, livestock keeping, beekeeping, etc.) see H.A. Skrypnyk, " Zaniattia naselennia terytorii Ukrainy periodu Kyivs'koi Rusi " (The Occupations of the Inhabitants of Kievan Rus') in V.F. Horlenko, ed., Op. cit., pp. 33-60.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer. Artiukh, Op. cit., p. 104 confirms this notion of a " rich " or " abundant " meal because of the central role assumed by *kutia* as the requisite dish for the *Sviata Vechera* .

> " . . .that holy [ie. Christmas Eve] supper was the best and the richest because there was *pshenytsia* ! "

Typically, *kutia* was made of ground poppy seeds and boiled hulled wheat kernels held together and sweetened with either honey or sugared water.[1] Quantities of either the poppy seeds or the wheat kernels were not hard and fast and varied with the amount contained of each ingredient within the household stocks at the time of preparation. Similarly, the sweetening agent which was used depended on what could be afforded at the time, or, if a family had its own honeybee apiary or " pasika ".[2] As a result, the colour, texture and consistentcy of the dish varied from a blackened poppy seed soup to a whitened wheat pilaf and every combination and permutation in between.

The *borshcht* which was prepared for *Sviatyi Vechir* was a vegetable based soup containing those vegetables which were available within a family's resources at the time. Typically, it was a blended stock of beets, mushrooms, onions, garlic, carrots, cabbage, beans, peas, potatoes and/or turnips seasoned with salt, pepper and a little brine for tartness.[3] When served, it could either be served clear (that is, strained of vegetables so that only the broth is served) or vegetable laden. Additionally, for those families who had gathered a large amount of mushrooms during the summer and/or fall, tiny mushroom-filled *pyrohy* known as " vushka " (little ears) or " huby " (mushrooms) were added to the soup bowl just before serving.[1]

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[1] Oskar Kohlberg, Rus Czerwona (Red Ruthenia), (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1902), p. 61 mentions that the ingredients of the *kutia* have specific meanings: wheat kernels represent death and rebirth; poppy seeds represent sleep; and, honey represents sweetness and gentleness. Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., p. 151 mentions that *kutia* in the Chernihiv area of Russian administered Ukraine could have also been made from barley kernels.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

The *holubtsi* which were prepared for *Sviatyi Vechir* did not differ from those which were prepared throughout *Pylypivka* . Essentially, they were prepared using soured cabbage leaves filled with either buckwheat, corn or barley groats, and, if the family's circumstances allowed, with rice.[2] These fillings were either toasted or boiled and then seasoned with onions and garlic sauteed in *olii* , salt and pepper. Prior to serving, the *holubtsi* were dressed with a mixture of fried onions in *olii* .[3] Similarly, the *pyrohy* which were prepared for *Sviatyi Vechir* did not differ markedly from those which were prepared during *Pylypivka* . The only difference was in the type and variety of fillings. For *Sviatyi Vechir* , the following fillings were used:[4] mashed potatoe seasoned with fried onions in *olii* , salt and pepper; sauerkraut; ground fish seasoned with fried onions in *olii* , salt and pepper; ground poppy seeds slightly sweetened; plums; and, mushrooms seasoned with fried onions and/or garlic in *olii* , salt and pepper. As with the *holubtsi* , prior to serving, the *pyrohy* were dressed with a mixture of fried onions in *olii* .[5] The only exceptions to this presentation were the tiny mushroom-filled *pyrohy* , which were added to the *borshcht* just before serving.

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

The mushrooms or " huby " were prepared simply. After rehydrating the dried *huby* overnight in a bowl of cold water (and the left-over liquid was usually added into the preparation of the stock for the *borshcht*), they were then quickly sauteed in *olii* with onion and/or garlic and seasoned with salt and pepper.*

Fish or " ryba " for *Sviatyi Vechir* was usually purchased fresh-water carp (ie. a whitefish) which was prepared in any or all of the following ways - baked, fried or jellied.** When baked, the fish was gutted, seasoned lightly with salt and pepper and baked whole. When fried, it again was gutted, then filleted and fried lightly in *olii* with onions and garlic and seasoned to taste with salt and pepper. And finally, when jellied, the fish was gutted, chunked coarsely and then boiled in an equal amount of water and seasoned with garlic, salt and pepper to produce a type of fish aspic known as " studenets+".

Sauerkraut or " kapusta " could have been served in a number of ways - either hot or cold.*** When it was prepared as a hot dish, it could have been either boiled or fried and then dressed in a mixture of onions and/or garlic sauteed in *olii* . A variation of this recipe incorporated peas and/or beans on *Sviatyi Vechir* .[1] When sauerkraut was prepared as a

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*All of the informants mentioned this method of preparation for mushrooms on *Sviatyi Vechir*.

**All of the informants mentioned these three types of preparation for fish.

+*Studenets* was a general term used to describe any gelatinous based foodstuff be it pork headcheese, fish aspic etc.

***All of the informants mentioned these various types of hot and cold sauerkraut preparations.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

cold dish, it was usually soaked in water (to get rid of any excess brine), drained, and then tossed with the same mixture of onions and/or garlic sauteed in *olii* .

Beans and peas, although they were often served as individual dishes on *Sviatyi Vechir* , were primarily incorporated into other recipes, such as the sauerkraut dish or the *borshcht* . However, when beans were served as an individual dish, they were typically boiled to a soft consistency and then then mashed with onions and/or garlic and seasoned with salt and pepper. Peas were typically boiled and either served plain or with a dressing of onions and/or garlic sauteed in *olii* .*

Beets and the other remaining root vegetables (such as potatoes and turnips) were also primarily incorporated into other recipes on *Sviatyi Vechir* , such as the *borshcht* or the *pyrohy* , and were less frequently utilized as individual dishes. When beets were served as a separate dish, they were typically fried in a mixture of onions and/or garlic in *olii* and seasoned with salt and pepper.[1] The other remaining root vegetables, such as carrots, potatoes and turnips were typically boiled and cut into bite size pieces and served either plain or with a dressing of onions and/or garlic sauteed in *olii* . The potatoes and turnips could also have been mashed with onions and/or garlic and seasoned with salt and pepper.[2]

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*All of the informants mentioned these typical preparations for beans and peas.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

Two types of bread usually graced the table for *Sviatyi Vechir* meal. These included a dark rye loaf known as " chornyi khlib " (literally - black bread) and a light wheat flour loaf known as " bilyi khlib " (literally - white bread). *Chornyi khlib* was the most commonly produced loaf by the average village family. It was a coarsely textured bread baked from domestically stone ground rye flour and contained all of the intact rye fibre and husk.[1] *Bilyi khlib* , on the other hand was made from finely milled wheat flour and was a treat that most families usually enjoyed only twice a year - at Christmas time and at Easter time. For *Sviatyi Vechir* , this loaf was elaborately braided into a circle with an opening large enough in the center to accomodate a candle and was called a " kolach ". When two or three loaves were piled upon each other surrounding a single candle, it was then typically used as an edible centerpiece for the evening meal.*

Sushenie was a stewed dried fruit compote made from locally grown fruits. These fruits typically included plums/prunes, apples, pears and cherries.[2] While the solid portions were eaten much like a fruit cocktail as a dessert at the end of the meal on *Sviatyi Vechir* , the nectar was drunk as a beverage during the meal - primarily reserved for the children in a family.[3]

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #1, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned that this circular braided loaf was requisite for the evening meal on *Sviatyi Vechir* because it was a focal point of the table, as well as, an edible treat.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4

Pampukhy were light yeast doughnuts not unlike today's Bismark-type stuffed doughnuts. *Pampukhy* were either prepared plain (without a filling) or filled with plums/prunes or sweetened ground poppy seeds. These doughnuts were then deep fried in *olii* and then either served plain or sugar coated.[1] *Pampukhy* , like *bilyi khlib* , were a special treat usually enjoyed only twice a year - at Christmas and at Easter.[2]

While the children had the nectar from the fruit compote to accompany their *Sviatyi Vechir* meal, the older adolescents and adults consumed either tea and/or alchohol. The typical alchoholic beverage consumed by most villagers on special occasions was beer. It was purchased at the local tavern by the jugful for domestic use, and for when more people and/or guests were anticipated at home, by the quarter-barrelful or " chvertka ".[3] Again, just as with other purchased items, the amount, type and frequency of alchohol available within the household was determined by the family's financial circumstances at the time (ie. its possession of bartering items for exchange).

Sviatyi Vechir[4] itself was spent as a fasting day. This was done because it was the last day of *Pylypivka* , but it was also done to prepare oneself for the full enjoyment and appreciation of the evening meal or " Sviata Vechera ".* However, not everyone in a family fasted. Children up to approximately fourteen years of age did not fast because it was judged by their parents that their little bodies could not and should not tolerate a fast, however, older adolescents and adult members of a family did fast. For many individuals, fasting meant complete abstention from all food and drink for the entire day, but for many others, it meant that one could only drink water, coffee and/or tea throughout the day (ie. if they had coffee or tea to consume).** Fasting ended with the approach of dusk.

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[4] See also " Boze Narodzenie - Rizdwo " (The Birth of Jesus - Christmas) in Kolberg, Op. cit., pp. 81-88 for a description of the preparations, both personal and domestic, involved for the observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* . These preparations included fasting, attending to the livestock, cooking the various dishes for the *Sviata Vechera* , tidying the house, bringing in a sheaf of grain, as well as, straw and/or hay into the house, setting the table and changing into holiday attire.

As dusk approached, everyone in the family eagerly awaited father and the boys to bring and arrange a sheaf of wheat, rye, barley or oats[1], some hay, as well as some straw*** into the house.[2] These items were brought into the house as symbols representing the birth of Christ:

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*All of the informants mentioned these reasons for fasting on *Sviatyi Vechir* . Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 2-23 mentions that there were two important celebratory meals observed during the winter holiday season. The first meal called a " Perva kutia " (First Kutia) or " Bahata kutia " (Rich Kutia) occured on the evening of Christmas Eve after a day of fasting and was made of foodstuffs which were meatless and milkless. The second meal occured on the evening of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan and was called a " Holodna kutia " (Hungry Kutia) or " Bidna kutia " (Poor Kutia). This meal mimiced the Christmas Eve meal in every aspect.

**All of the informants emphasized that *Sviatyi Vechir* was one the most important fasting days of the year.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

***All of the informants mentioned the bringing in of sheaves, hay and straw into the house on *Sviatyi Vechir* . These (along with other winter holiday rituals and practices) are described by Y.M. Sokolov, Russian Folklore (Detroit: Folklore Associates, 1971), p. 181 as an expression of productive agrarian magic. Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 275 cites that these practices (and many other practices associated with Christmas Eve and the winter holiday season) have been reworked, reinterpreted and transformed by the church from a ritual celebration of the upcoming growing and harvesting seasons into a commemorative observance of the birth of Jesus Christ in a manger. For a discussion of the role of Christianity in integrating the

> " IAk KHrystos sia narodyv v iaslakh. . .Maria bula z IOsyfom v stainy. . .I KHrystos sia narodyv na sini. I to tak ie tomu. "[1]

> " When Christ was born in the manger. . .Mary was there with Joseph in the stable. . .And Christ was born on the hay. And that is why it is like that. "

The wheat sheaf, which was known as the " Baba [2]" (and also simply referred to alternatively by all of the informants as a " snip "), was placed in the corner of the main room or " pokuttia " upon the meeting point where the benches surrounding the dining table touched (see Diagram 3).* This sheaf (which often weighed as much as twenty pounds) was brought in for *Sviatyi Vechir* because it represented the Blessed Virgin Mary.[3] The hay, which was known as the " Did "[4], was thinly strewn on the dining table top under a white table cloth.** Hay was brought in for *Sviatyi Vechir* because it represented Jesus Christ.[5] And

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old pagan beliefs and practices into acceptable religious observances, see " Dvoieviria " (Dual Belief) in Ilarion, Op. cit., pp. 313-339.

[2] The bringing in of Christmas trees for the holiday season was virtually unknown by Ukrainians in the village, however, they were brought indoors in the city. Mr. Hrynchyshyn mentioned that at the home where he was billeted while attending high school in Chortkiv (which was owned by a Ukrainian family) had a Christmas tree during the holidays.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Ibid.

*A composite diagram from the information gathered from all of the informants. See also Franko, Op. cit., p. 204.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

**Each informant mentioned that the table for the *Sviata Vechera* had to be set with a white tablecloth or " obrus ". Upon further inquiry it was found, that typically, one only had white tablecloths because they, like all household linens, were domestically produced from flax and bleached white in the sun after weaving.

[5] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

the straw, which was known as the " Didukh "*, was thickly strewn under the dining table and benches. Straw was brought in for *Sviatyi Vechir* because it represented Joseph.[1] In the Chortkiv region, as the straw was being strewn about the floor, there was a practice whereby the children in a family were encouraged to cluck like brooding hens while saying the following:

" Kvo, kvo	" Cluck, cluck
Na Rizdvo !	For Christmas !
A sto kurok	For a hundred hens
A ieden kohutok ! "[2]	And one rooster ! "

It was believed, that when children chanted this little verse while imitating the flapping motion of a hen's wings, one's hens would brood better and produce more eggs in the upcoming year.[3] In Chortkiw, there was also another practice whereby a metal object, such as an axe[4] or a plough share[5], was placed in the straw strewn under the table and benches. During the meal, every family member was encouraged to touch that metal object with their feet, because it was believed that by doing so, one safe-

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*All of the informants mentioned that the straw, which was brought in for *Sviatyi Vechir* , was called a *didukh* , however, their terminology for the hay and sheaves varied.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

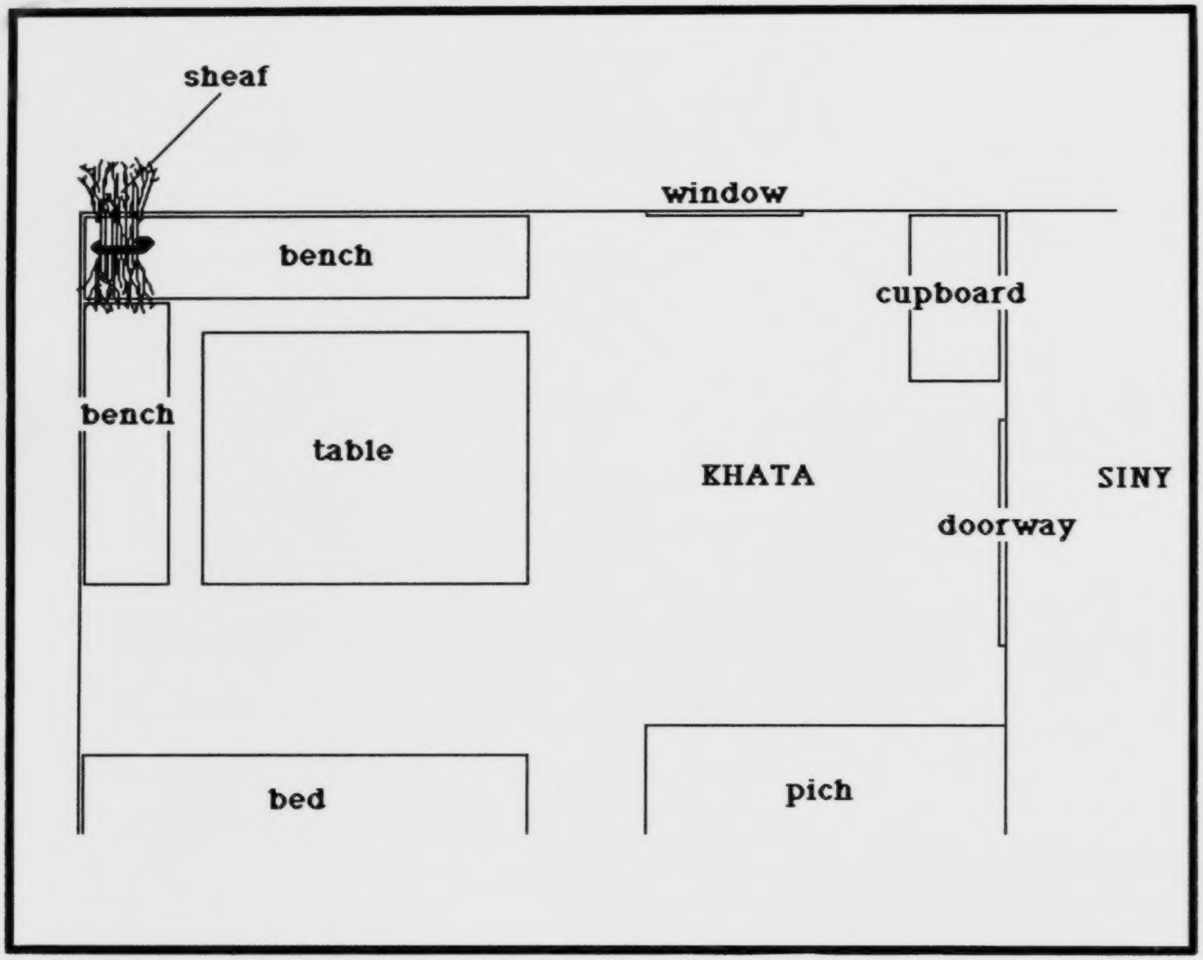
[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer. See also Dykarev, Op. cit., p. 147.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Mary Romaniuk, Interview # 4. Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 18 describes a similar practice among the Hutsuls noting that there was an accompanying recitation as one placed their foot upon the metal object: " IAka sese kosa tverda, aby moia noha taka bula, aby nicho si ii ne bralo, bola niiaka " (As this hay-blade is strong, may my foot be strong also, may nothing [ie. any illness, injury, aches etc.] take hold ". Filiaret Kolessa, " Narodni praznyky na Pidhiriu " (Folk Feast Days in the Foothills) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. V (1898): p. 91 mentions that in the Stryi district of Galicia, metal objects were placed in the straw to scare off the dead.

guarded and protected their feet and legs from any sickness, weakness, inflictions and/or accidents in the upcoming year.


sheaf
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KHATA
SINY
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Diagram 3: Location of the SHEAF* - Top view

* The sheaf (or *Baba* or *Snip*) was placed in the southeast corner of the main room or " pokuttia " up on the meeting point of the benches surrounding the dining table so that it could be left freestanding against the two corner walls of the *khata* .

The bringing in of the *Did* , *Baba* and *Didukh* signalled to everyone within the family that the hard work for the day was nearly over and that the holidays were about to begin. Everyone washed up and changed into their holiday attire (ie. their " Sunday best " clothing). Mother and the girls finished up the food preparations for the *Sviata Vechera* and set the table. And the children were encouraged to search the dusky sky to see which one of them would spot the appearance of the first evening star. It was believed, that whoever spotted that first star on *Sviatyi Vechir* , would have good luck in the new year.* When that first star was sighted, all of the dishes and foodstuffs were placed on the table, the centerpiece candle was lit, and all of the members of the family gathered about the dining table to begin the observances for the *Sviata Vechera* .** (If the stars were not visible because of overcast skies, the lighting of the first light indoors signalled the time for the family to gather about the dining table to begin the observances for *Sviatyi Vechir*).

While everyone was gathered around the dining table, and before sitting down to eat, the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father), usually led by the head of the household, was said aloud. At the end of the prayer, everyone sat down to eat.*** In the Sniatyn region, there was a practice associated with sitting down to the *Sviata Vechera* in that once everyone sat down to dinner - no one was allowed to get up from the table for any reason (including not getting up to get additional dishes, food, etc.) until the meal ended and everyone finished eating. It was believed that if

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*All of the informants mentioned this, as does all of the literature surveyed.
**Ibid.
***Ibid.

everyone sat through this particular meal without getting up, in the same way, one's hens would not get up from their eggs, and therefore, would brood better and produce more eggs in the forth-coming year.[1]

The observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* and the participation of every family member in the *Sviata Vechera* was regarded as a family celebration to which, it was expected, every family member would attend.[2] The attendance of the immediate family members was interpreted much in the same way as the calling of the Twelve Apostles by Jesus Christ for the Last Supper[3], in that, it was viewed as a sharing, caring, interacting and deliberate time set aside for maintaining and deepening family bonds and ties. Further, the requirement of the twelve dishes for the meal actually represented those Twelve Apostles.[4] In addition to the deliberate efforts made by all family members to be present for *Sviatyi Vechir* , every effort was also made to spend that day quietly and peacefully, that is, not argue, quarrel, fight, disagree, etc.[5] As indicated by the following statement, it was believed that one's disposition on *Sviatyi Vechir* influenced, indeed determined, their disposition in the upcoming year:

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 273 states that every family member, as well as, all of the livestock had to be home on *Sviatyi Vechir* , otherwise, the missing family member and/or livestock is fated to wander in the new year.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[5] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 19.

" Vorozhat' tak. . .Ta zh ia samyi viryv takozh. . .Shcho to iak tykho, myrno, to zhyttie faino. . .a iak take vo svarka, to znaiete , shcho vzhe nema zhyttie takoho! "[1]

" That is what they used to fortell. . .Why I believed in it myself. . .That if it [*Sviatyi Vechir*] is spent quietly, peacefully, then your life will be fine. . .but if there is an argument, then you know that your life will not go well. "

Further:

" IAk treba bulo svaryty. . .to treba bulo svaryty ne kolo vecheri ale kotroi nebud' dnyny. . .A ne v toi den' sho my obzerbovuiemo. "[2]

" If you had to quarrel. . .then you did not do it during that supper, but on any other day. . .But not on that day that we were observing. "

Although there were twelve dishes on the table for the *Sviata Vechera* , one dish in particular took precedence over all of the others - *Kutia* (or *Pshenytsia*). In both Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Kutia* was the first dish eaten. However, prior to being eaten, there were a number of rituals observed. In both areas, the head of the household took anywhere from one to three spoonfuls of *Kutia* and flung it up towards the ceiling.* In Sniatyn, this act was preceeded by the head of the household taking the bowl containing the *Kutia* in his hands, and with the handle end of the serving spoon, indented a cross on the surface of the *Kutia* before taking a spoonful to fling up to the ceiling.[3] A number of beliefs were associated with these practices. For those who had a honeybee apiary, the ceiling mass was examined to see how many wheat kernels stuck to the ceiling. If a lot of kernels remained on the ceiling, it meant that there would be alot of honey produced by their bees in the next year.[1] For others, the number of wheat kernels that remained on the ceiling determined how good their grain harvest would be in the new year. The number of kernels that remained determine either how many extra sheaves the harvest would produce, or, how many thrashed bushels would be produced.[2] Additionally, for others, it was not the number of kernels stuck to the ceiling which was interpretted, but rather, it was the number of kernels that each member at the table was able to catch in their hands that determined the future. Whoever caught the most wheat kernels in their hands, would be the luckiest member of the family in the upcoming year.[3]

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Op. cit. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants mentioned this practice of flinging the *kutia* to the ceiling at the beginning of the *Sviata Vechera* .

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #2. Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p.17 cites a similar practice among the Hutsuls whereby a cross is drawn (with honey) on the table prior to eating the *kutia* . It was believed, that by performing this ritual, the family was protected against the evil eye or " uroky ".

While *Kutia* was special in regards to its precedence during the *Sviata Vechera*, as well as, in regards to its associated rituals, the rest of the dishes and foodstuffs had no such distinctions and were eaten in due course during the meal. The end of the meal was often, if not usually signalled by the spontaneous singing of Christmas carols or " koliady "*, which often continued intermittently throughout the rest of the evening amidst the various activities that family members participated in.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Franko, Op. cit., p. 205 offers another interpretation associated with the flinging of kutia to the ceiling. Essentially, if more wheat kernels than poppy seeds remained on the ceiling - the harvest will be plentiful in the new year. If however, more poppy seeds than wheat kernels remained on the ceiling - the honeybee apiary will be very productive in the new year. Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 274 mentions that the larger the number of kernels sticking to the ceiling meant that one's livestock and/or bees would multiply better in the new year.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #2. Kolessa, Op. cit., p. 92 elaborates on this point, in that, what was caught in their hands and the amount that was caught - determined what kind of a dowry and/or inheritance each child would receive in the future.

Following the *Sviata Vechera* , the children centered their play in the straw which was strewn under the dining table and benches.** In Chortkiv, there was an accompanying practice wherein the adults " lost their change " or " hubyly hroshi "[1] in the straw so that the children had something to search for and rejoice in during their play. *Sviatyi Vechir* was also an evening when special treats, such as peanuts and hard candy, made their way to the table top so that the children, as well as the adults, could nibble on them throughout the evening.[2] In Chortkiv, there was also a practice (that the older children participated in) which involved the taking of *kutia* , as well as some of the leftover dishes and foodstuffs from the family's *Sviata Vechera* , to their poorer neighbours who were unable to afford their own celebration in the same style.[3] While the typical village family lived a subsistence type of lifestyle, despite their own poverty, they in turn tried to help those who were even less well off during the Christmas holiday season.

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

**Ibid.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Onyschuk, Op. cit., p. 22. Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 147-148 mentions that children took food baskets to their godparents and to the midwife who delivered them. Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., p. 152 mentions that children took food only to the midwife or " puporizna baba ", whereas, Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 3 mentions that the children took food only to their godparents. Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 275 adds that the reason children took food to their relatives and/or neighbours was to honour the souls of the dead members of their families.

The adolescents within a family differed in their activities following the *Sviata Vechera* .[1] Typically, adolescent boys went carolling or " koliaduvaty " from house to house in their immediate neighbourhoods, with or without props and/or costumes (to be discussed in greater detail in the section " Celebratory Activities "). Adolescent girls on the other hand, typically stayed home to either watch over their younger siblings at play or to assist in readying them for bed, and also helped their mothers tidy up after the evening meal.*

The women within a family concentrated their efforts indoors following the *Sviata Vechera* . Typically, their activities included tidying up after the evening meal, making provisions to ensure that any carollers and/or visitors who came to their home could be welcomed with food and refreshments, supervise the activities of their children and perform any last minute preparations neccessary to attend church, visit and/or receive visitors during the next three days of *sviata* (such as laying out clothing, bringing in food from storage, etc.). One of the main responsibilities that the women had, included the post-preparation of the *Sviata Vechera* for the dearly departed in their family. It was believed, that on *Sviatyi Vechir* , the dead members of a family returned to their families to partake of the *Sviata Vechera* .** As a result, provisions had to be made to ensure that the dead, when they came, would be able to eat. In Chortkiv, there was a practice of leaving the bowl of *kutia* [1] on the dining table with enough spoons encircling the bowl for each dead member of the family anticipated[2], or tucked those spoons into the band tied around the *snip* known as the " pereveslo ".[3] In Sniatyn, all of the dishes from the *Sviata Vechera* were left on the dining table, again, with enough spoons* for each dead member of the family expected.[4] In both instances, the food and its associated eating utensils, were left on the dining table overnight, and cleared away following breakfast the next morning[5]. The candle which was lit for the *Sviata Vechera* could either be left on the table to burn itself out, or it was put out at the end of the meal. It appears, that for those whose candle was put out at the end of the meal, economics played a major role in conserving their candles. Candles were relatively expensive commodities. Not everyone had a honeybee apiary with its resultant beeswax to be able to produce candles domestically as needed.* As a result, those families would have had to purchase them (along with other neccessary commodities such as salt, sugar, naptha, matches etc.) at the local village store as their financial circumstances permitted (ie. their possession of bartering items, such as eggs). For those who stated that the candle was allowed to burn itself out, there was a belief associated with the flame itself, in that it represented life, and as such, should never be snuffed out.[1]

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[1] Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., pp. 149-150 describes the participation of young unmarried men and women in various fortune-telling and superstitious activities (similar to those participated in on *Andreia*) following the *Sviata Vechera* in the Chernihiv area of Russian administered Ukraine. 7 activities are described.

*All of the informants described this typical division of activities between older boys and girls on *Sviatyi Vechir* .

**All of the informants mentioned this belief of the dead visiting their families on *Sviatyi Vechir* .

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[1] The ritual nature of *kutia* as a commemorative dish to honour the dead has its roots it pre-Kievan Rus'. See L.F. Artiukh in V.F. Horlenko, ed., Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

* Plates and table settings as we know them today were virtually unheard of in the Ukrainian village at the turn of this century. Everyone ate with their own spoons from common serving bowls containing the various dishes and foodstuffs. Hence, when the food was left for the departed, they required only their own spoons to eat with.

[4] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[5] The leaving of the leftover *kutia* with some spoons overnight so that the departed within a family could come and partake of it is also mentioned by Kolessa, Op. cit., p. 92. Immediately following the *Sviata Vechera* , the dead were invited to dine by calling through the main window of the house: " Khodit usi sviti do nas vecherity! " (Come all you holy ones to us for supper!). Dykarev, Op. cit., p. 148 describes a practice where every family member, following the *Sviata Vechera* , left his/her spoon in the bowl containing the *kutia* overnight. The next day, everyone examined the spoons to see if any of them had fallen out of the bowl. If a spoon fell out of the bowl, it was believed, that the person to whom that spoon belonged, would die in the new year. This particular practice is also described by Domanytskyi, Op. cit., p. 82.

The men of the household concentrated their efforts outdoors following the *Sviata Vechera* . Their primary concern was in ensuring that their livestock was well fed and comfortably bedded down for the night. It was believed that on *Sviatyi Vechir* the animals had the power to speak because they were priveledged to have witnessed the birth of Jesus Christ[2] in a manger. Additionally, there was a further belief that not only could the animals speak on *Sviatyi Vechir* , but that they also were able to tell all those who could or would listen about their living conditions and treatment (either good or bad) by their owners. As a result, every effort was made to ensure that one's animals were content, fed and comfortable on this day and throughout the holidays** (although this outdoor chore was already a part of the overall preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo*). In Chortkiv, part of this effort included feeding the livestock the hay which was spread on the dining table under the tablecloth immediately following the meal ". . .shchoby vony sia dobre vely! " (. . .so that they would be fertile!).[1]

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*All of the informants mentioned that not every family had the facility to make their own candles.

[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 275.

**All of the informants remarked humourously about this belief concerning the ability of animals being able to speak on *Sviatyi Vechir* . Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 25 mentions that among the Hutsuls, it was believed that animals had the ability to speak on New Year's Eve. Kolessa, Op. cit., p. 92 also mentions this as a New Year's Eve belief in the Stryi region of Galicia.

Following all of the various activities that were participated in by all of the members of a family after the *Sviata Vechera* and depending on the schedule of services at the local village church, everyone within the household either went to sleep or readied themselves to attend Midnight Mass. Attendance of mass on Christmas Day marked the beginning of *sviata* .* Christmas Mass also marked the begining of the religious season where the greeting " KHrystos razhdaiet'sia! . . . Slavite IEho! " (Christ is born! . . . Let us glorify him!)** was wished in lieu of " Slava Isusu Khrystu! . . . Slava na viky! " (Glory be to Jesus Christ! . . . Glory be forever!). The latter greeting was the normal exchange between people on most days of the religious calendar year.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.

*All of the informants agreed that attending church on Christmas Day meant the beginning of the holidays.

**All of the informants mentioned that this religious greeting was used throughout the winter holiday season.

Rizdvo

While the term *Rizdvo* specifically means " Christmas [Day] " and was used as such by all of the informants, the term was also used interchangeably by those same informants to refer generally to the three consecutive feast days which made up the Christmas holiday period, namely, Christmas Day or *Rizdvo* (proper), Boxing Day or *Zbory* and St. Stephen's Day or *Stefana* . Essentially, these holidays or " sviata " were spent in the same manner as a series of Sundays, in that they were observed and spent as a series of days of rest.[1]

Sviata then, when compared to and described in terms of a series of Sundays, meant that on each of the three days of holidays everyone attended a church service and no one performed any tasks requiring heavy labour.* Following the church services on each of the three days of *Rizdvo* , the remainder of the time was typically spent carrying out minor chores (such as feeding the livestock, milking the cows, reheating food, making beds etc.), socializing either indoors (for the adults) or outdoors (for the children and adolescents) and participating in either sponsored or non-sponsored locally organized activities (such as carolling door to door). These activities will be described and discussed in greater detail.

Socializing, either indoors or outdoors, took up the bulk of the time during the Christmas *sviata* . It appears that everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, tried to make a concerted effort to visit and welcome visitors into their homes throughout this period. Children in particular enjoyed the various winter activities associated with fun in the snow (such as sledding, snowballing, sliding etc.[1]) with family members and friends.[2] In addition, because the *Didukh* remained under the dining table and benches throughout the three days of *Rizdvo* , they also enjoyed playing in the straw either themselves or when other children came by to visit with their parents.[3] For the adults, socializing meant entertaining visitors who came to their homes and were not unlike those socials participated in during *Pylypivka* . However, during the Christmas *sviata* , the singing of Christmas carols or " koliady " took favoured precedence over most of the other activities during these intimate social get-togethers. The *koliady* [4] that were sung were the typical religious ones which everyone learned in school and in church and included the following titles: " Boh Predvichnyi " (God Eternal); " Vo Vyfleiemi " (In Bethlehem); " Nebo i Zemlia " (Heaven and Earth); " Nova Radis't'

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[1] Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 8.

*All of the informants were quite emphatic as to how holidays or *sviata* were supposed to be spent (ie. as days where one did not do any heavy work).

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[2] Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 5-8 describes the outdoor activities participated in by young and old alike during the winter (holiday) period. Activities included sledding, sliding and skating on ice, sledding and tumbling on snow, snowballing, and, playing on domestically constructed merry-go-rounds and swings.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[4] For a discussion on the origins of *koliady* and *shchedrivky* as winter cycle songs (celebrating the agricultural season, the roles of the various members of the household, love, marriage, war, the natural elements etc.) which have steadily, since the 16th-18th centuries, been reworked by the church to incorporate religious themes (celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ) see " Koliadky i shchedrivky " in Filiaret Kolessa, Ukrains'ka usna slovesnis't' (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1983), pp. 37-50. Included, are 33 prototype examples of non-religious themed *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* with their accompanying melody lines notated (pp. 163-204). See also, " Koliada: the Koliadky and the SHCHedrivky " in Kubijovic, Op. cit., pp. 354-356.

Stala " (A New Joy has Arisen); " Na Nebi Zirka " (In the Heavens is a Star); " V Vyfleiemi Novyna " (There is News in Bethlehem); " KHrystos Rodyvsia " (Christ is Born); " Nazareta " (Nazareth); and, " Dyvnaia Novyna " (Wondrous News).* While the carols and their lyrics in themselves were quite beautiful on their own merits, there existed a common practice of modifying the lyrics** in a humourous fashion. Typically, the lyrics were modified spontaneously and rather irreverently, and then, those same carols were sung for their humourous effect in enlivening the particular social event. An example of such a modification follows.+ The first version is the original religious text sung in church and by carollers.

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* Each informant listed the common religious themed *koliady* which were sung in their native village areas. There may however be a qualifier for this situation of apparent relgious listing when compared to the abundance of secular *koliadky* reference texts which existed at the turn of this century in Austrian administered Western Ukraine. The elder immigrant informants at the time of interviewing had lived in Canada for approximately 70 to 80 years. As a result, they may have been providing a tempered Canadian restrospective of religious carolling information because the bulk of their carolling experience in Western Canada would have been the promulgation of religious themed carols in church and on behalf of the church. Robert Klymasz, in his The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 236, Folklore Series No. 9, 1970) pp. 17-71 provides 23 examples of various themed secular carols brought to Western Canada at the turn of this century with melodies.

**All of the informants mentioned this common practice of modifying the lyrics to well known songs for amusement. This practice was not exclusively reserved to Christmas carols alone.

+It is regrettable that one of the limitations in the methodology of information gathering for this study - namely the direct interview technique - was in this instance a drawback, particularly as it applied to the age/gender gaps between the interviewer and the informants. With respect to the relaying or singing of humourous parodies, 4 of 5 of the elder immigrant informants refused to share their ditties because they were frankly too embarrassed to relay texts which they thought were either too vulgar, too irrevent toward the religious texts which they modified, or too sexually connotative for " . . . younger female ears . . .". Despite numerous attempts (which included leaving blank tapes for them to tape in private), only one informant provided one text. Robert Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 121-124 provides 4 examples of parody carols with melodies.

The second version is the modified text or " parody " (which can be superimposed perfectly onto the original melody line):

Boh Predvichnyi	God Eternal
Boh predvichnyi narodyvsia.	God eternal has been born.
Pryishov dnes' iz nebes	He came today from the heavens
Shchob spasty liud svii ves'.	To save all mankind.
I utishyvsia!	And he rejoices!

Modified Parody

Boh predvichnyi hrechky vrodyv.	God eternal gives life to all buckwheat.
Chy na krupy, chy na kashu	Whether it is for groats, or whether it is for gruel
A ia liubliu Handziu vashu.	I love your daughter Anne.
Budu sia zhenyv![1]	I will marry her!

The other activities participated in indoors during these Christmas *sviata* also included eating, drinking, talking, singing, joking, telling tales and/or stories, politicizing, playing cards, etc. which would have been typical activities of any Sunday get-together with family and friends throughout the year.

Many organized activities also took place throughout the the three days of *Rizdvo* , as well as, during the evening of *Sviatyi Vechir* after the *Sviata Vechera* . All of these organized efforts had as their main activity the door to door carolling which was known as " koliaduvannia ".* While some carolling groups were sponsored by institutions such as the local village church and/or reading hall[1] for the sole purpose of soliciting donations, many of the groups organized themselves on their own initiatives for dual purposes: first, to entertain family and friends, and second, to earn some extra money for themselves.[2] These latter " self interest " carolling groups varied in their membership from the youngest of children (ie. five and six year olds), adolescents, to young single adults. While sponsored groups could have been composed of any combination of ages, sexes and marital statuses, it was typical for most of the non-sponsored carolling groups to be made up of single similar members of the same sex.[3] Further, many of these independantly organized carolling groups also dressed themselves in costumes and/or carried about props. As a result, not only were they carolling groups, but in effect they also became door to door travelling theatrical troupes - entertaining children and adults alike with their singing, routines, recitations, shows, etc. While these travelling theatrical troupes are specifically described and discussed in greater detail in the section " Celebratory Activities ", carolling in general is described as follows.[1]

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants described the practice of carolling groups/troupes visiting door to door within their native village areas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn.

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[1] See also Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 23 for an example of the influence of the church in curbing the folk practice of *koliaduvannia* .

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

The various carolling groups or " koliadnyky " usually had their own identifying trademarks to announce themselves as they approached each home. Carolling groups sponsored by the local village church carried the small hand held bells used during mass and rang them as they approached each house.* Adolescent boys often made up an animal costume known as a " koza ", or made up a travelling nativity scene known as a " vertep " or " shopka ".** Additionally, both sponsored and non-sponsored groups often carried a domestically produced star prop known as a " zvizda ", which represented the guiding star of Bethlehem showing the way to where Jesus Christ was born.*** The *zvizda* was a relatively simple prop to make.[2] Essentially, it was an oiled paper representation of a star, shaped and stretched over a circular metal (ie. wire) or wooden (ie. branch) frame, which was secured with either string or twine. This hollow sphere was then secured onto the top end of a sturdy pole or straight branch with either twine or rope. A large enough opening was made in the top of this *zvizda* so that a candle could be inserted into the interior onto the top of the pole. The candle would then be lit by hand during carolling (See Diagrams 4 and 5 for construction techniques). This opening also allowed for the escape of heat and smoke produced by the lit candle. A variation using this same oiled paper over a fixed frame technique was also used to produce an eight point *zvizda* , however, it took greater skill to produce.[1] The *zvizda* , like the costumes and model nativity scenes, was made during *Pylypivka* so that it would be ready for immediate use at the beginning of the *sviata* . When the *zvizda* was used as an accompanying prop for a group of *koliadnyky* , typically, it would be used to announce that particular group by being lit and then raised to the level of the main window of a house so that its light would shine into the home. Those inside the house, seeing the lit *zvizda* , would then know that a group of *koliadnyky* had arrived and would invite them to sing.[2]

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[1] See also " Koleda " in Kolberg, Op. cit., pp. 88-121 for a description of the process of *koliaduvannia* . 27 *koliady* are included - 11 of which have their accompanying melodies notated. Kolberg, Rus Czerwona (Red Ruthenia), pp. 61-125 contains 100 *koliady* - 16 of which have their accompanying melodies notated. In addition, Oskar Kolberg, Rus Karpacka (Carpathian Rus), (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1902), pp. 244-251 contains 7 *koliady* texts without melodies. Further, Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 149-153 includes 6 *koliady* texts without melodies, Domanytskyi, Op. cit., pp. 83-88 includes 14 *koliady* texts without melodies, Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., pp. 143-144 includes 4 *koliady* texts without melodies, and, Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 11-13 includes 6 *koliady* texts without melodies.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**Ibid.

***Ibid.

[2] From the recollections of John Chillibecki.

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #4. For an example of an eight point *zvizda* see Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 9-13. Construction techniques are included, as well as, a description of the process of *koliaduvannia* with a *zvizda* .

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

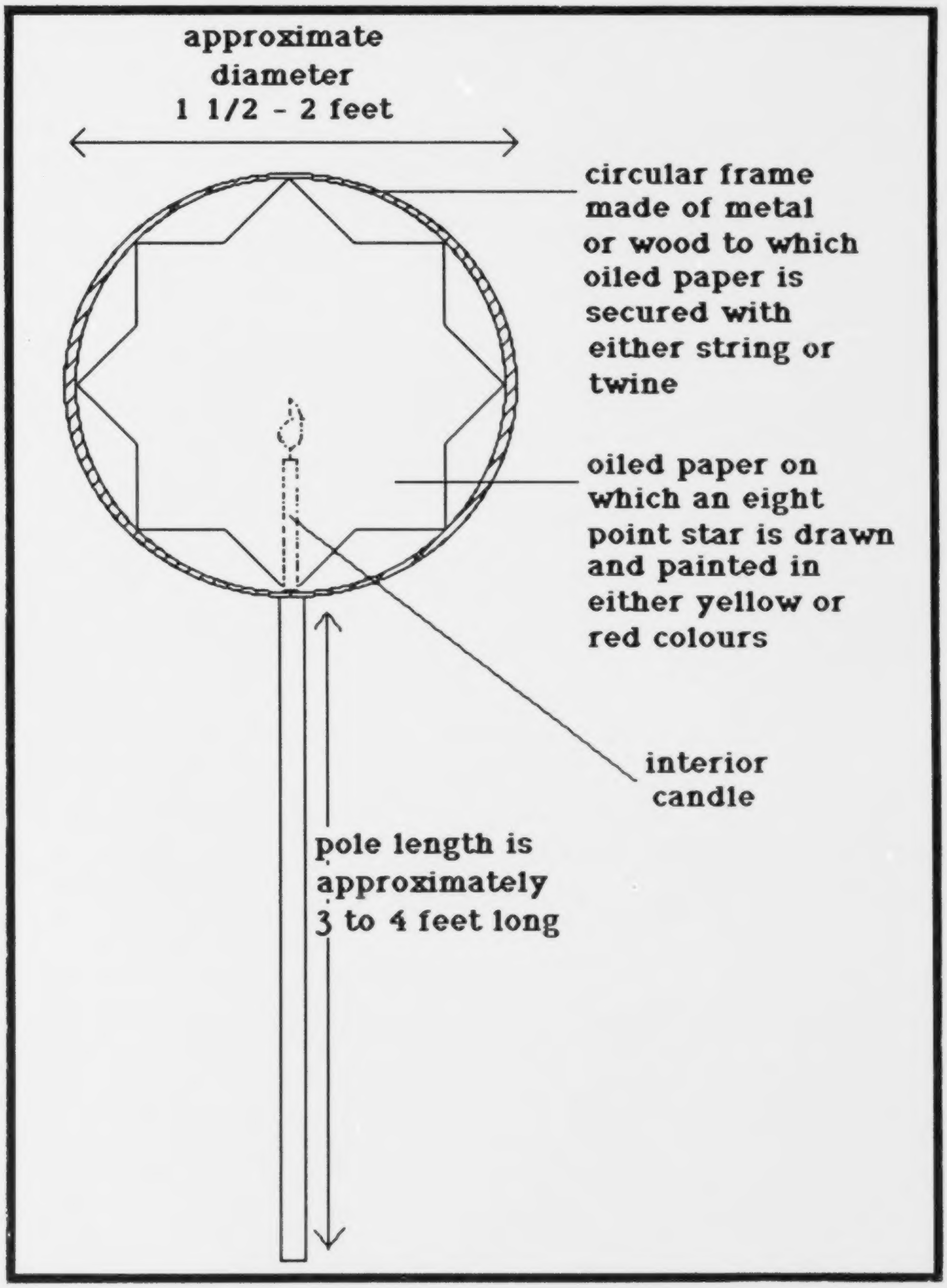
approximate diameter 1 1/2 - 2 feet
circular frame made of metal or wood to which oiled paper is secured with either string or twine
oiled paper on which an eight point star is drawn and painted in either yellow or red colours
interior candle
pole length is approximately 3 to 4 feet long

Diagram 4: ZVIZDA* - Side view

* A carolling prop made of oiled paper shaped and stretched over a circular metal or wooden frame and secured with either string or twine. The structure is then fixed onto a sturdy pole or straight branch with either twine or rope.

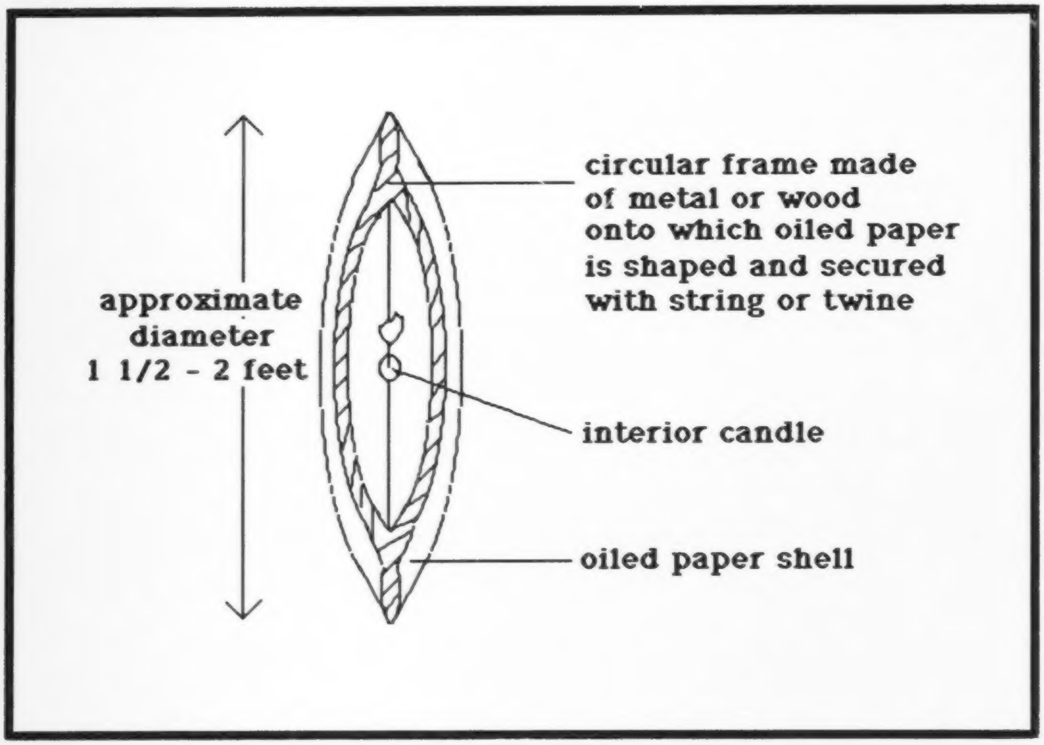
approximate diameter 1 1/2 - 2 feet
circular frame made of metal or wood onto which oiled paper is shaped and secured with string or twine
interior candle
oiled paper shell

Diagram 5: ZVIZDA* - Top view

* A carolling prop made of oiled paper shaped and stretched over a circular metal or wooden frame and secured with either string or twine. The top of this structure has an opening which is large enough to accomodate easy access by hand for the lighting of an interiorally placed candle. The opening also provides the means for the heat and smoke produced by the burning candle to escape without destroying the prop itself.

Koliadnyky and their *koliaduvannia* were deeply representative aspects of the festivities. During the three days of *sviata* , all of the families within a village* eagerly awaited the arrival of the choral celebrants. There was an accepted protocol for *koliaduvannia* .[1] When a group of carollers approached a house, they would either inquire from outside the house prior to knocking, or, knock on the main door and then ask " Chy mozhna pryity vam koliaduvaty? " (May we come in to carol for you?). Following this question, the head of the household would then open his door and answer " Pryidit'! Proshu! " (Come in, please!). Upon hearing this reply, the group of carollers entered into the middle storage hall of the *khata* called " siny " and would proceed with the program of carolling. If the size of the house was small and/or if the carolling group was too large to accomodate indoors, the carollers would stay outside under the main window of the house while they sang.** Depending on the number of people and/or families in the house, or if there were people that the carollers knew very well, they would sing one, two or even three carols.[1] While the group sang their selected carols, it was expected, that those who were in the house listening, would also sing along. After the carolling finished, one of the carollers would then say a little verse of felicitations. Examples of felicitations follow:

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*All of the informants stated that no one specifically watched through the window to note the arrival of carollers at their homes, however, they did state that once the carollers arrived, they were always welcomed heartily and as generously as their families could afford.

[1] From the recollections of John Hrynchyshyn. For a detailed description of the process of *koliaduvannia* (including performance texts) within an area bordering Sniatyn, see Volodymyr Hnatiuk " IAk vidbuvaiut'sia koliady u Hutsuliv " (How the Hutsuls carol) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vol. XXXV (1914): pp. XV-XXXIV. Of particular interest are the distinctions made between carolling for the church and carolling within independantly organized groups, as well as, the distinctions made between carolling for normal households and those households within which a death had occured in the last year.

**Having to remain outdoors to carol was not as severe an ordeal as one might imagine. All of the informants mentioned, that even though there may have been snow outside during the Christmas holidays, winter in Ukraine was never as severe as it was in Western Canada. In fact, none of the informants recalled ever owning a pair of gloves or mittens until they came to Canada.

" Vinchuiu vas tym novorozhdennym Isusom KHrystom shchoby vam
daruvav shchastia, zdorovia, mnohykh lit prozhyty!
KHrystos rodyvsia! "[2]

("I wish you well in honour of the newly born Jesus Christ so that he
may grant you happiness, health, and longevity of life!
Christ is born! ")

And:

" Vinshuiu vam shchastia, zdorovia, mnohykh lit prozhyty! SHCHo by s
ty prozhyly do sto lit, a po sto lit, kil'ko Boh prykazhyt'! "[3]

(" I wish you happiness, health, and longevity of life! May you live a
hundred years, and after a hundred years, the amount that God will
grant you! ")

The carollers were then either treated with food and/or drink and/or money. If they were given some money, the amount given was usually denominated in what is today the equivalent of pennies because that is all that any typical village family could afford to give due to the impoverished situation of the typical Ukrainian family in both regions of

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[1] For an excellent reference, with respect to the sheer number of *koliady* texts and their accompanying melodies, see Volodymyr Hnatiuk " Koliadky i SHCHedrivky " (Christmas and New Year Carols) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vols. XXXV-XXXVI (1914).

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

Chortkiv and Sniatyn.* Quite often, even the youngest of children would spontaneously decide to go carolling to their neighbours in the hopes of earning some extra money for themselves. This is evidenced by the following statement:

> " IA khodyla. . .IA khodyla iz druhu. . .susids'ka divchyna. . .My khodyly. A vona iakas' taka bula, khot' ia ne bula mudra, ale vydko trokhy mudrisha. . .Bo khto dav greitsar, to tam bulo v tim greitsarevi dva ' piv novykh ' kazaly. . .To ia kazala shcho piv, ia ne kazala sho to. A khto dav dva greitsari, to ia kazala ino iedyn! IA trokhy znala! A vona taka sho vona ne znala. . .A ia vinshuvala. . .To sia vinshuie po koliadi:
>
> ' Vinshuiu vas temnoho rozhdennymy Isusom KHrystom -
> SHCHoby vam daruvav shchastia, zdorovia, mnoha lit prozhyty.
> KHrystos sia razhdaie! '
>
> A vona ne vmila. . .i tomu, ia sobi bil'she brala hroshi! "[1]

> " I went [carolling]. . .I went with another. . .a neighbour's girl. . .We went. And she was the type, well, I know I was not the brightest, but evidently I was brighter [than her]. . .Because whoever gave us a greitsar[+], and within that greitsar there were two ' half new ones ' they used to call them. . .Anyway, I used to say we got only half! And whoever gave two greitsars, I used to say we got only one! I used to know a little bit [then]! But she was the type that did not know. . .And I used to recite felicitations. . .You give felicitations after you carol:
>
> ' I wish to you in this dark night of Jesus Christ's birth -
> That he grant you happiness, health, and longevity of life.
> Christ is born! '
>
> And she did not know how [to recite felicitations]. . .And that is why I I took more money for myself! "

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*All of the informants mentioned this fact (and others relating to economic conditions at the turn of the century) a number of times to emphasize just how poor most households were in the old country.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[+] A greitsar (ie. a kreutzer) was an old Austrian coin equivalent to approximately a penny in value.

After the *koliadnyky* finished with their *koliaduvannia*, they would thank the members of the household for their generousity, say their farewells, and then move on to the next house where the entire sequence of events would again be repeated.

While *koliaduvannia* took place throughout the three and a half days of *sviata* from after the *Sviata Vechera* on *Sviatyi Vechir*, through *Rizdvo*, through *Zbory* and until the end of the day on *Stefana*, each of the three days of *Rizdvo* also had their own highlights and specific participatory activities and events. These activities and events are described below in chronological order.

Rizdvo (ie. Christmas Day proper) had as its focal activity the compulsory attendance at mass by every single member of the family.* The time of the actual service depended on the scheduling at the local village church. Due to the fact that not all churches had their own resident priests, the timings of mass varied anywhere from midnight, to a 4:00 a.m. service, to a mass held as late in the morning as 9:00 a.m.[1] Due to the length of the actual Christmas service (usually from two to three hours), mass seldom started later than 9:00 a.m. so that the parishioners would be allowed to get home by noon to spend the rest of the day either entertaining family and/or visitors, going to visit themselves, or participate door to door with any of the various locally organized carolling groups or troupes.[1]

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*All of the informants mentioned the compulsory attendance at mass on Christmas Day by all able members of the family.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

The day after Christmas Day, known as " Zbory "[2] (literally - to gather) was the most active day of sponsored and non-sponsored organized *koliaduvannia* . It was not unusual for families to have most of their members (except for parents and the youngest children) out carolling on this day after everyone attended mass.[3] Additionally, this was the first day that a bonafide party/dance could be held and attended following *Pylypivka* .[4] For example, in the Sniatyn district, a dance was usually held in the evening of the day after Christmas:

> " I tak vzhe robliet' ' Tanets' Znanich ' . U vechir tantsi robyly. . .zaraz taky v druhyi den'. . .Robyly tam de maly haliu. . .abo v takii khati velyki - de v koho velyka khata. Klykaly khloptsi, divcheta. . .i muzyku zamovyly. . .skrypka, tsymbaly i bas (bubon takyi). Znaiesh iak to molodi. . .To vony v den', iak vony kolieduvaly, tai pohovoryly, tai zaraz my ziishlysia. . .muzyku naimaly. . .tai vzhe! A khloptsi platyly muzykantamy. . .a distavaly hroshi vid tata! "[5]

> " And so, very quickly, an ' Evening Dance ' would be organized. In the evening a dance would be organized. . .right on the second day [of Christmas]. It was held where there was a hall. . .or in a big house - whoever had a big house. Young men and women were invited. . .and musicians were hired. . .a fiddler, a dulcimer player, and a drummer. You know how young people are. . .During the day when they were carolling, they would get to talking, and the next thing you know we are

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. See also " Zbory " in Kolberg, Op. cit., p. 87 for a cursory description of the activities of this day.

[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[4] Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 21 states that evening socials with music and dancing commenced on New Year's Day in the Black Sea region of Russian administered Ukraine.

[5] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

> getting together. . .musicians are being hired. . .and that's that! The young men paid the musicians. . .and got their money from their fathers! "

Quite obviously, both the organized carolling, as well as, the organized dances went ahead with the approval and financial assistance of the parents involved.

The third day of *Rizdvo* was the feast day of St. Stephen or " Stefana ", and just as on the first two days of *sviata* , the day began by attending mass at the local village church. While it was also a day of visiting, hosting visitors and carolling, this day could have also been celebrated as someone's nameday.* This day was also significant in that it was the day that the straw or *Diduch* , which lay under the dining table and benches (and usually, by the third day of the holidays, it would have been scattered all over the house by the children), was swept out of the house and burned.** This practice was called " Palennia Didukha " (literally - burning the *Diduch*).[1] In Sniatyn, this activity was also referred to as warming the *Diduch* or " Hrily Didukha ".[2] This activity required the removal of the straw to an outside area, usually the garden area, and as far away from the house as possible (due to the fact that the typical village home with its thatched roof was extremely flammable). Usually, this meant that the straw was piled as close as possible to the property line running parallel to the main access road by the house. The straw was then lit, and the children, indeed everyone, who was present at the burning, were encouraged to jump over the flames.[1] It was believed that by jumping over the flames, the jumper safeguarded his health from any diseases or illnesses in the upcoming year:

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*All of the informants mentioned that Stephen was one of the more common names for men in both areas and that this date was often celebrated as a someone's nameday.

**The female informants mentioned, rather humourously, that there was also an ulterior motive for having the straw strewn throughout the house during the *sviata*. . Due to the nature of the earth packed floors of the typical village *khata* , the straw served to protect the floor from excess moisture which would have been tracked through the house with the amount of people that would have been visiting and/or carolling throughout the three days of holidays. On *Stefana* , when the straw was swept out of the house, any dirt and/or moisture which would have accumulated on the floor during the *sviata* would have also been swept out.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #5, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Onyshchuk, Op. cit. p. 22 confirms this practice among the Hutsuls noting that there was an accompanying recitation as one heated

> " . . .A to pereskakaiut', kav, by sia nicho ne chipalo liudyny. Tai vo skachut' po tim vohniu! "[2]

> " . . .And they leaped across [the flames], it was said, so that nothing would trouble that person. And so, they jumped over the flames! "

It was also believed that by jumping though the flames, a person safeguarded the health of their lower limbs:

> " IAk zapaliet', tai to vzhe pereskakuiut'. . .aby des' shos' po nohakh ne chipalosia. . .de iak khto maie sho. . .vidkydaie, haniaie. . ."[3]

> " After its lit [the *Diduch*], they then quickly start leaping over the flames. . .so that nothing will trouble or affect their legs. . .or if somebody has problems [with their legs] to throw it off, to chase it away. . ."

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their hands over the flames: " Aby ruky tsyrez tsalyj rik ny rozvyvaly si, ny bolily " (May [my] hands through the entire year never gnarl, never ache).

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #5, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Ibid.

There was even a rhymed saying that the onlookers used to say to encourage people to jump over the flames: " Skakaty, tai ne bude nicho na tili vykydaty! " (Leap, and nothing will break out on your body!).[1] After the strawfire burned itself out, the ashes that remained were redistributed and shaped into a cross. This cross was then left until spring at which time it was turned over when soil preparations began for the garden.[2] It was believed, that leaving this ashen cross on the property - protected the household and all of its members (including the livestock) from illness, harm, disaster and/or deliberate evil in the new year.[3] The hay which was under the table cloth was usually put back in the haypiles for the livestock and the wheat sheaf which stood in the corner was removed to the granary for thrashing in the new year.[4] For others, the wheat sheaf stayed in the house in the corner until New Year's Day[5] or the Eve of the Feast of Jordan.[6] While for all practical purposes Christmas *sviata* began after the meal on *Sviatyj Vechir* (as opposed to starting after one attended mass on *Rizdvo*), *sviata* definitely ended with the end of the day on *Stefana* .

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. For their families, the *snip* stayed in the house until New Year's day and was taken out after the local boys came in to scatter wheat for them (to be described in greater detail in the section " Novyi Rik ").

[6] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

Celebratory Activities

While carolling took place throughout the three and a half days of Christmas holidays, two specific types of carolling, both of which required extensive costume and/or prop preparation, deserve a separate description. These two types of carolling were known as the " Koza " and " Shopka "* (or *Vertep*). Having either a costume or a prop was a significant element in the success of these particular carolling groups. They were not merely carolling groups, but rather, were door to door amateur theatrical troupes.

The *Koza* (literally - a she-goat) was a costumed theatrical typically prepared for and performed by young adolescent boys (whose ages usually ranged from twelve to fourteen years).** As such, it was a non-sponsored carolling activity participated in by a group of close friends and/or peers. The dedicated planning and preparation that went into the making of the *Koza* costume - prop during *Pylypivka* , ensured that it would be ready for carolling and performing by its group immediately following the meal on *Sviatyi Vechir* .[1] Approximately four to six boys were involved in the preparation, planning and execution of each *Koza* troupe. Their ultimate goal in carolling with the *Koza* was the production an unusual yet comical rendition of a she-goat and its antics , for the amusement of children and adults alike.* While the actual process of carolling with the *Koza* was similar to that of the typical carolling groups discussed earlier, it differed from those same groups in two ways. First, when they carolled for a family within their home, they not only sang, but also put on a lively accompanying theatrical show with the *Koza* . Second, when they travelled from house to house, they also sang and put on a similarly lively theatrical show en route. Just as with the other carolling groups, if a particular home could not accomodate the *Koza* troupe indoors, the group entertained the household by giving its performance outdoors under the main window of the house while those inside the house looked on.[1]

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*All of the informants mentioned these two types of travelling theatrical carolling troupes.

**All of the informants mentioned that the *Koza* carolling troupes were made up of boys only. Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 10 mentions that the *koza* (she-goat) costumed troupe alternates with a *vedmid'* (bear) costumed troupe and/or a military uniformed troupe from year to year.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

The *Koza* costume/prop was made up of two sections.[2] The first section was a wooden head with support. The second section was a woolly over cape designed to hide the animator working the head, as well as, the interior support of the head section. The head portion was

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*All of the informants mentioned how amusing the *Koza* was when it came carolling to their homes in Western Ukraine. Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., pp. 148-149 cites that the main purpose of carolling with a *koza* was to bring laughter and entertainment into the homes of the villagers.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] The description of the *Koza* costume and its construction comes from the repertoire of Dmytro Kostash who himself went carolling with the *Koza* three times as a young adolescent in his native village area before emigrating to Canada. See also Nina Zahlada, " Koza " in Materialy do ukrains'koi etnolohii Vol. XXII (1929): pp. 277-287, in which a brief history of carolling with a *koza* is provided, in that, it is one of the last relics of magico-animistic practices performed for the purpose of ensuring a successful growing season and harvest. Detailed construction techniques are provided, as well as, an excellent detailed description of the process of carolling with a *koza* as it occured within the Kiev district of the 1920's of interwar Soviet Ukraine. A complete performance text/script is provided - with the accompanying melodies notated. See also " The Goat " in Kubijovic, Op. cit., pp. 356-357.

constructed primarily of wooden (ie. branches and/or any wooden left-overs from domestic projects, etc.) materials. It was an elongated and hollow cylyndrical form fixed onto a support pole (or sturdy branch) which was approximately the same height as the costume's potential animators. Onto this cylindrical shape, the following items were affixed: horns made of carved branches or twigs which pointed backwards; a working mouth made of two pieces of wood (the upper lip being fixed and the lower lip pivotted) attached to the head using a dowel type of construction; and, big bulging eyes made from the largest buttons available. Teeth made of nails were attached to the upper lip of the mouth. A beard made of shredded coloured crepe paper combined with forest grasses known as " trokhsha " was glued onto the lower lip. Additionally, a flush tongue made of red coloured crepe paper was glued onto the top surface of the lower lip. The head section of the *Koza* costume was constructed in such a way that the finished item had the facility of being clattered (ie. the lips could be clattered) using an interior hand and/or foot operated rope pulley mechanism attached to the lower lip to produce the desired clattering sounds (See Diagrams 6 and 7 for construction techniques). The woolly overcape section of the costume-prop was designed to simulate the wooly overcoat of a she-goat. It was made from an oversized sack (from milled flour for example), onto which were sewn layers of tufted forest rushes/grasses or *trokhsha* topped by a collar of shredded brightly coloured crepe paper about the neck. Approximately three sheaves of collected *trokhsha* were used in making the woolly overcape portion of the *Koza* . This woolly outergarment of the costume-prop served to disguise the animator from head to toe, as well as, hide the interior support and operating mechanisms of the clattering head of the *Koza* . While the groups creating their costume-props would have liked to have claimed complete rights of originality in designing their own particular *Koza* , they had considerable help and guidance - both verbal and written. From their parents, especially from their fathers (who themselves would have constructed *Koza* 's in their youth) they received direct instruction, guidance and information. From school and from the local reading hall, they obtained written instructional aids in design and construction techniques. Primarily though, the boys relied on the information provided by their parents because after all:

" Z davnia take ishlo. . .i teper tak ide. Tak kazaly nam tato i mama, tai tak my robyly. . .Tse tak robyly davno didy i pradidy, tai tak i nam kazaly robyty! "[1]

" From long ago it has come. . .and now it still goes. That is what our father and mother told us, and that is what we did. . .This was done long ago by our grandfathers and our ancestors, and so that is why they encouraged us to do it too! "

Koliaduvannia with the *Koza* began immediately after the *Sviata Vechera* and continued until after midnight - often as late as one or two o'clock in the early morning. The group of four to six adolescent boys, along with their *Koza* costume, congregated at one of their homes. When all were present, at random, one of the members of the group put on the costume. As soon as the costume was donned, the group went on its way carolling door to door within the immediate neighbourhood of their village area. The entertainment value of the *Koza* was in the comical nature in which the animator gyrated and bobbed his costume while clacking the mouthpiece at the appropriate times (ie. in time to the accompanying carolling). As the *Koza* troupe approached each home, and indeed, en route between homes, the boys sang various *koliady* while the animator inside the costume-prop performed in time to the music. Once inside a home, the troupe's activities focused their attentions and their performances on the appreciative responses of the members of the household - particularly the children. Essentially, their theatrical presentation mimicing the antics of a she-goat was designed to elicit joyful responses from their observors:

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

> " Vona tak zroblena shoby vam bulo smishno i dyvno!. . .KHlopets tam kliantsav, kliantsav tak iak koza, i tohdy my koliaduvaly za tym. . . znachytsia, my koliaduiem, a vin znaie koly byty! To to takyi zvuk lysh kovtalo, ale vono znachyt' sho my za tym spivaly - koliaduvaly. "[1]

> " She [the Koza] was made in such a manner that its appearance was both strange and funny at the same time! A boy clattered [the mouthpiece], clattered the same way that a goat does, and the rest of us would sing by the beat. . .that is, we would carol, and he would know when to strike the mechanism! It was just a plain clacking sound, but it meant that we sang - carolled along to its rhythmical beat. "

Carolling with the *Koza* was only done on *Sviatyi Vechir* because most of the other groups carolled throughout the three days of *sviata* . As such, those other groups of carollers were seen as economic competitors for the all important pennies collected for their efforts.* The types of carols which were sung by the *Koza* troupes were non-religious, and quite often spontaneously composed. Unfortunately, examples of these types of carols could not be recalled.* At the end of the evening's carolling, the money which was earned by the *Koza* troupe on *Sviatyi Vechir* was divided equally among its members. This money was theirs and therefore not accountable to the household income. As a result, the boys were allowed to spend it in whatever way they liked.

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer. See also Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., p. 149.

*All informants mentioned that carolling with the *Koza* only took place on *Sviatyi Vechir* .

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*All of the informants mentioned that there were various non-religious carols which were sung during the Christmas holiday season, however, none could recall any of them. See Zahlada, Op cit., for an example of an actual performance text/script for the *Koza* . Hnatiuk, Op. cit., is an excellent reference for the various types of secular carols which could have been sung by the *Koza* performers (indeed, by carollers throughout the entire winter holiday period).

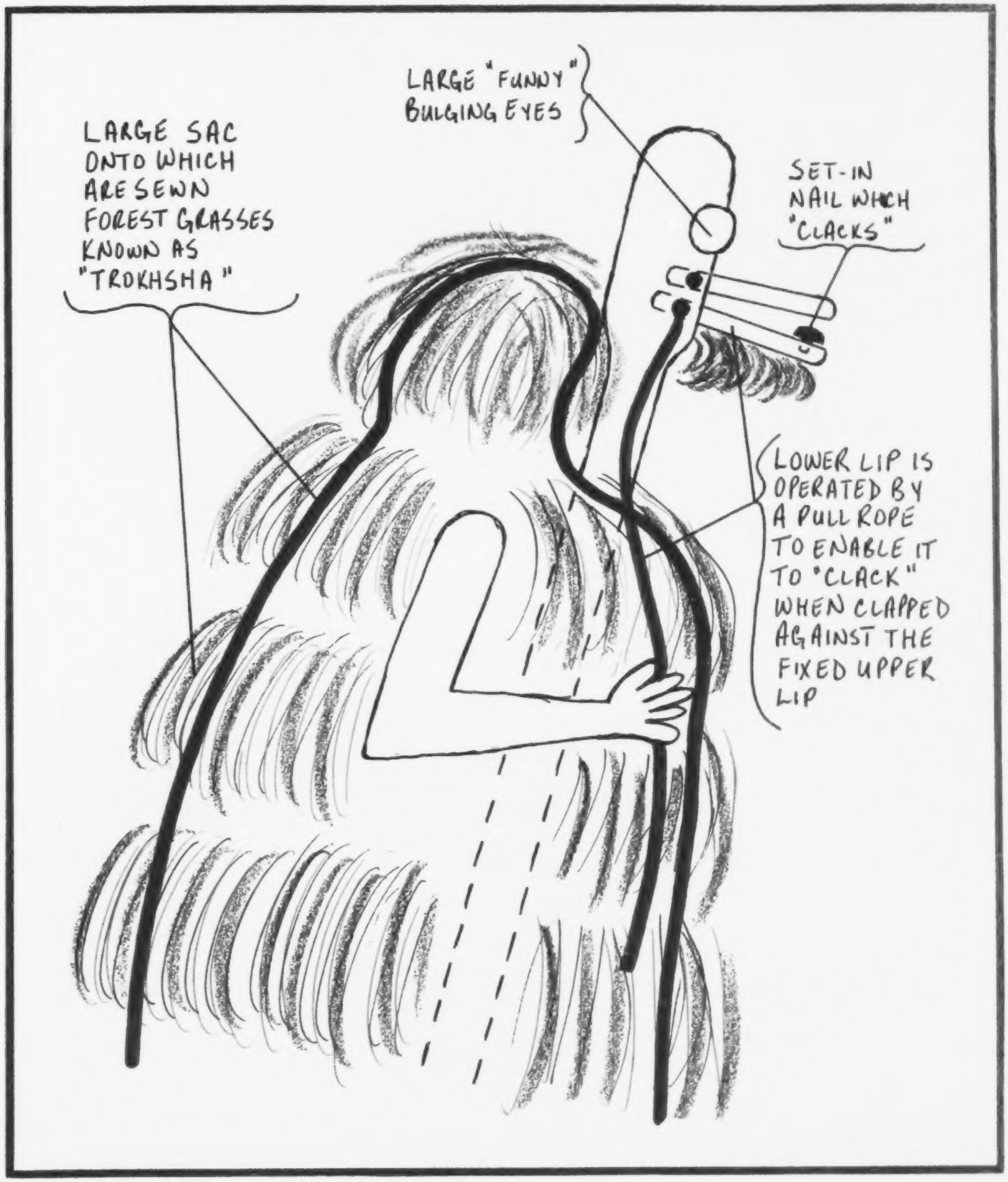
LARGE "FUNNY" BULGING EYES
LARGE SAC ONTO WHICH ARE SEWN FOREST GRASSES KNOWN AS "TROKHSHA"
SET-IN NAIL WHICH "CLACKS"
LOWER LIP IS OPERATED BY A PULL ROPE TO ENABLE IT TO "CLACK" WHEN CLAPPED AGAINST THE FIXED UPPER LIP

Diagram 6: KOZA* - Side view

* The *Koza* was a hand held, and, hand or foot operated costume-prop. The interior wooden section was at least as tall as the animator wearing the costume so that it could be rested on the ground without distorting the costume line.

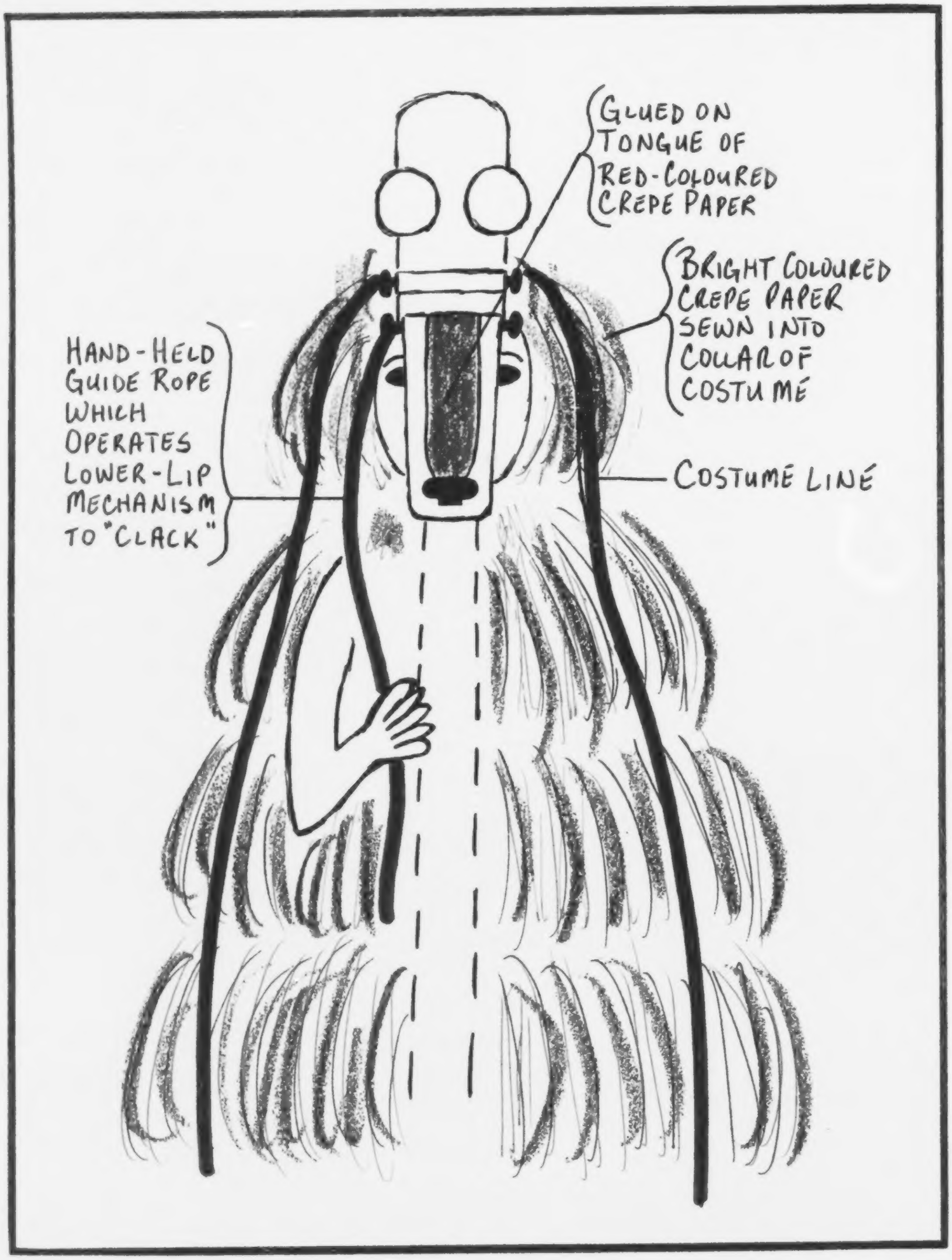
GLUED ON TONGUE OF RED-COLOURED CREPE PAPER
BRIGHT COLOURED CREPE PAPER SEWN INTO COLLAR OF COSTUME
HAND-HELD GUIDE ROPE WHICH OPERATES LOWER-LIP MECHANISM TO "CLACK"
COSTUME LINE

Diagram 7: KOZA* - Front view

* The *Koza* was made using primarily natural materials. Except for the nails, buttons, rope, oversized sac and crepe paper accoutrements, most of the costume-prop was made from branches, leftover wooden pieces from domestic projects and forest rushes/grasses.

The *SHopka* (literally - a small shed or stable) was also a travelling theatrical puppet show typically prepared for and performed by older adolescent boys (whose ages usually ranged from fourteen to sixteen years). As with the *Koza* troupe, it was a non-sponsored carolling activity participated in by a group of close friends and/or peers. The planning and preparation that went into the making of a *SHopka* prop during *Pylypivka* , also ensured that it would be ready for carolling and performing during the three days of *sviata* . Fewer boys (approximately two to four) were involved in the preparation, planning and execution of the *SHopka* troupe (as compared to the four to six boys who participated in the *Koza* troupe). Their ultimate goal in carolling with the *SHopka* was to produce an entertaining interpretation of the birth of Jesus Christ in a manger in a stable for the amusement of children and adults alike.*
While the actual process of carolling with the *SHopka* was similar to that of the carolling groups discussed earlier, it differed from those groups in two ways. First, when they carolled for a family within their home, they not only sang, but also provided a lively accompanying theatrical puppet show of dancing animals. Second, when they completed their carolling and accompanying puppet show, they answered any questions that any of the members of the household had - particularly those of the children, as to the names, types and uses of animals that were incorporated into their prop. Unlike the typical carolling groups or *Koza* troupes which could have carolled either indoors or outdoors, carolling with a *SHopka* always occured indoors due to the intimate nature of its performance and

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*All of the informants mentioned that *SHopka* troupes also came carolling to their homes in the old country.

then its subsequent examination by the attendant members of the household.

The *SHopka*[1] was essentially a hollowed square made of oiled paper which was then wrapped around four supporting corners made of sticks or branches. The oiled paper itself was decorated with drawn and painted representations of various types of animals - domestic and exotic. The base of the *SHopka* was made of either heavy cardboard or of used and/or discarded large pieces of wood and rested upon two poles or straight branches which were used as handles to carry the prop. Onto the base in the middle of that hollow square, a candle was fixed, which when lit, highlighted the animal figures impregnated onto the relatively transparent oiled paper skin shell making up the walls of the hollowed theatre. The base itself contained at least one slit through which various animal shaped paper puppets could be inserted. Strings attached to these paper animal figures, when pulled and manipulated, caused the paper puppets to jump and/or dance and cast shadows onto the outside oiled paper skin shell by the light produced from the interior candle. A cardboard roof (onto which straw was glued to simulate a thatched roof) was placed on top of this hollowed square. An opening was made in the top of this roof so that the interior candle could easily be lit by hand (See Diagrams 8 and 9 for construction techniques). This opening also allowed for the escape of heat and smoke produced by the lit candle.

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[1] The description of the *SHopka* prop and its construction comes from the repertoire of John Hrynchyshyn who himself went carolling with a *SHopka* a number of times as an adolescent in his native village area before emigrating to Canada.

While the groups creating their little stable theatre props would have liked to have claimed rights of originality in the design of their own particular *SHopka* , they also had considerable help and guidance, both verbal and written, as did those groups creating their own *Koza* . From their parents, and especially from their fathers who also would have constructed *SHopka* 's in their youth, they received hands on instruction, guidance and information. From school and from the local reading hall, they received written instructional aids in design and construction techniques. In addition, from school, the boys would have learned about the various members of the animal kingdom, both domestic and exotic, which could be incorporated into their transparent oiled paper mural making up the four walls of their little *SHopka* theatre. Primarily though, just as in the construction of the *Koza* , the boys relied on the information passed on from their parents.

Koliaduvannia with the *SHopka* took place during the three days of *sviata* . The group of two to four adolescent boys would begin their carolling session by getting together at the home where the *SHopka* was stored. When all had arrived, two of the members of the group (at random) picked up the prop by the carrying handles to carry it between them. As soon as the prop was picked up, the group went on its way to carol door to door within their immediate village neighbourhood in the same manner as the other carollers went door to door carolling. The entertainment value of the *SHopka* was in the excitement created by the animator in pulling and manipulating the interior paper animal puppets so as to give the illusion that these puppets were jumping and/or dancing in time to the accompanying carolling, as well as, during their rendition of the story of the birth of Jesus Christ in a manger in a stable. Unlike the *Koza* troupe, as the *SHopka* troupe travelled between homes they did not carol for, nor amuse, the general public. Once inside a home, the troupe's activities focused their attentions and actions in their performance on the members of the household (and of children in particular). Essentially, their theatrical presentation of the story of the birth of Jesus Christ was designed to elicit fascination and curiousity in the subject matter and prop from those who observed the show:

> " IAk. . .vo de vo idut' koliaduvaty, to tam sharpaly tam kozu v serdyni, i tak kazaly ' skakala ' . . .shchoby rozsmiaty mali dity dekuda im v khatakh. . .shchoby to bulo shchos' novoho. . .Tam v tomu vertepi ie bil'she zviriat nastavleni, prymirom, vybyraiut' taki zviriata iakykh mozhe ti liudy she ne vydily. . .Ale, shcho ti figury maly. . . shchoby pokazaty liudiam sho tam v tii, KHrystos naroduvsia v staini. To vlasne shcho to bulo tsil' ikh. "[1]

> " When. . .they went carolling they manipulated that goat inside, and said that it ' jumped ' . . .so as to make the little children laugh in each of the homes. . .so that there would be something new. . .In that little theatre a number of animals [puppets] were placed, for example, sometimes they would select animals that the people never saw before. . .But, what those figures had. . .was that they showed the people Christ was born in a stable. That was their purpose. "

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

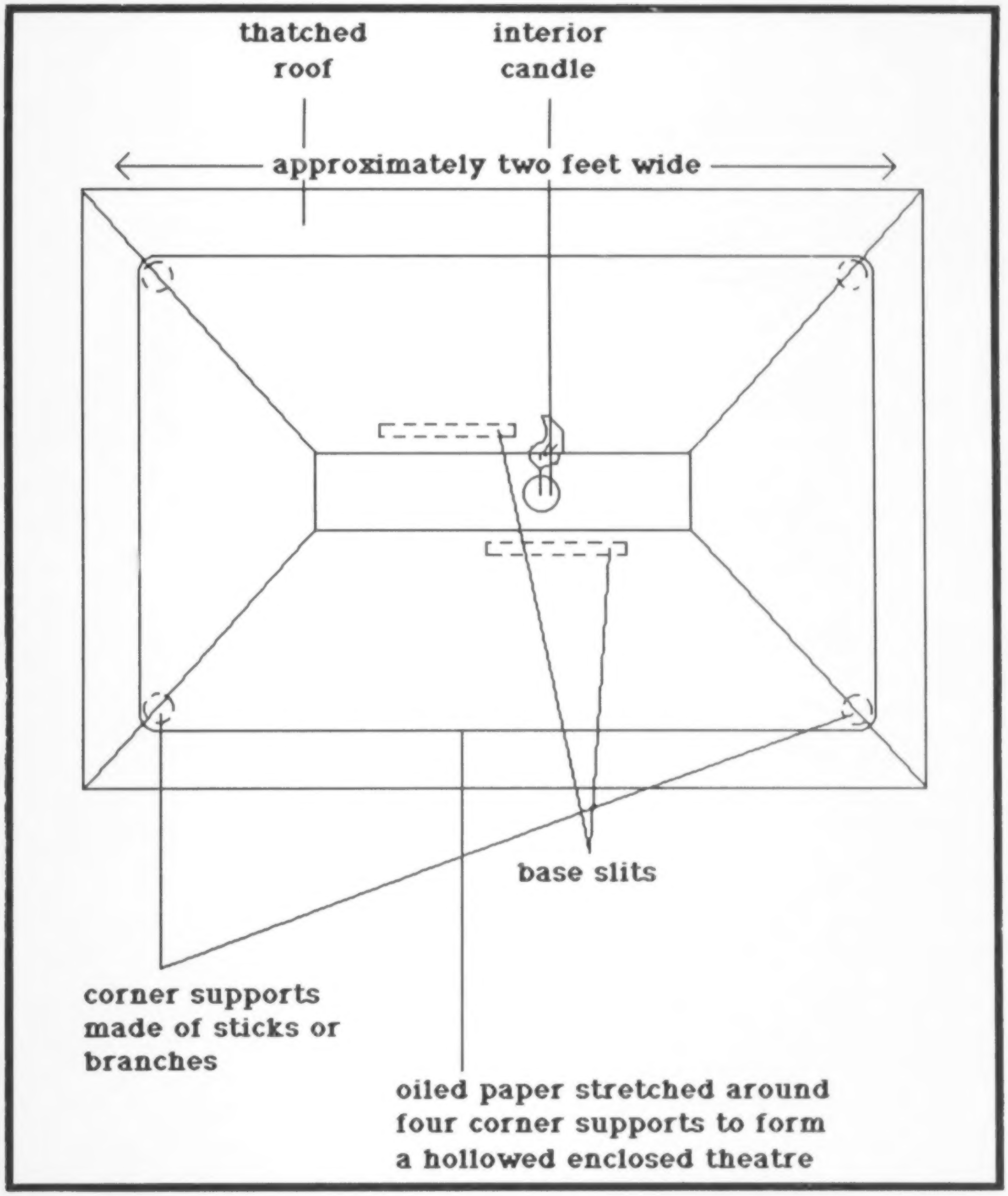
thatched roof
interior candle
approximately two feet wide
base slits
corner supports made of sticks or branches
oiled paper stretched around four corner supports to form a hollowed enclosed theatre

Diagram 8: SHOPKA* - Top view

* A hollow square made of oiled paper wrapped around four corner supports of sticks or branches. The opening in the roof portion was large enough to accomodate the lighting by hand of an interior candle. The slit(s) in the base portion allowed for interior animal shaped paper puppets to be manipulated by pull strings by an animator.

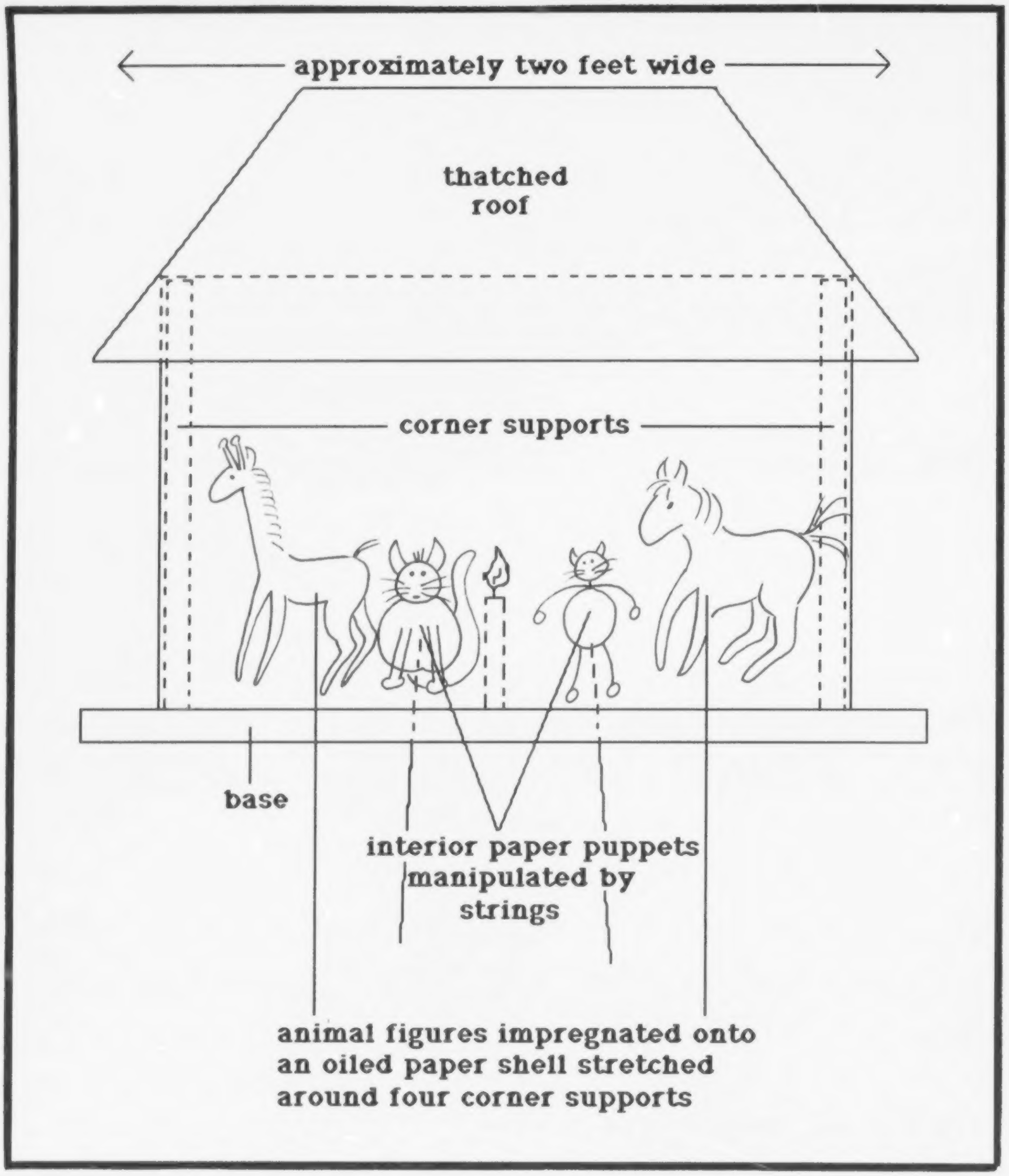
approximately two feet wide
thatched roof
corner supports
base
interior paper puppets manipulated by strings
animal figures impregnated onto an oiled paper shell stretched around four corner supports

Diagram 9: SHOPKA* - Side view

* A hollow square made of oiled paper wrapped around four corner supports of sticks or branches. Onto the translucent oiled paper itself were drawn and painted various animals which were defined and visible as a result of an interior candle. In addition, interior paper animal puppet(s) were manipulated through base slit(s) by pull strings which gave the impression of jumping and/or dancing from the shadows cast from by flickering of the interior candle.

A variation in the design of a *SHopka* resulted in the construction of a " Vertep " (literally - the crib of the birth of Jesus Christ). As with the other props, the *Vertep* [1] was also constructed during *Pylypivka* to ensure that it would be ready for use during the upcoming three days of Christmas *sviata* (see Diagram 10 for construction techniques). It was constructed from a sturdy cardboard box or from a discarded wooden crate (both of which could have been obtained from the local village store or from the nearest market) and was made to look like a typical *khata* . A cardboard roof, to which straw was glued, was placed on top of the structure to simulate a thatched roof. The front of the structure had two large swinging doors which simulated the massive doors of the typical outbuildings where livestock were housed. And, from the roof, a wire was fixed and extended upwards and a paper star was attached to hang above the little stable. The inside of this little nativity theatre was lined with straw upon which a store bought nativity scene was placed depicting Mary, Joseph, the infant Jesus in a manger, a lamb, cow, donkey and the three wise men (this nativity set would have been purchased in one of the larger neighbouring towns or in the county seat). Unlike the *SHopka* and/or the *Zvizda* props, there was no interior candle to light up the theatrical display. This was due, quite obviously, to the fact that straw is extremely flammable.

As with the *SHopka* troupe, the *Vertep* troupe was a non-sponsored carolling group made up of two to four older adolescent boys

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[1] From the repertoire of Dmytro Kostash, who himself recalls carollers coming to his home a number of times with the nativity theatre or *Vertep* in the old country.

(whose ages ranged from fourteen to sixteen years). Their ultimate goal in carolling with the *Vertep* was to produce an interesting, accurate and educational interpretation of the birth of Jesus Christ in a manger in a stable. While the actual process of carolling with the *Vertep* was similar to that of the *SHopka* *, it differed from it in that its theatre was a static one, that is, it did not have any moving parts to attract attention, amuse and/or entertain. Instead, after their carolling, the troupe was pleased to let any of the members of the household examine their little theatre and answer any questions that they might have had regarding the birth of Jesus Christ. Like the *SHopka* , the *Vertep* performance always occured indoors due to the intimate nature of its presentation. While the groups preparing the *Vertep* would have liked to have thought that their creation was original, they also had considerable help and guidance in its construction from their parents, their school and reading hall, and, as well from their local parish priest. Unlike the groups (where most of the assistance in the construction of the props would have come from their parents), the boys obtained the preponderance of their help in building the *Vertep* from their priest, teacher and from written instructional aids in design and construction available in the village.

Koliaduvannia with the *Vertep* took place during the three days of the Christmas *sviata* and was not markedly different from that of carolling with the *SHopka* . The entertainment value of the *Vertep* was in the interest created by the structure and its nativity scene in along with the religious repertoire of carols sung by the group of boys. Essentially, their theatrical presentation of the birth of Jesus Christ was designed to elicit interest in the event from the carolling and the prop that was used to accompany the singing.

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* Generally, all of the informants interchanged the terminology of *SHopka* and *Vertep* to mean the same thing - carolling with some sort of model/puppet theatre depicting the birth of Jesus Christ in a manger in a stable.

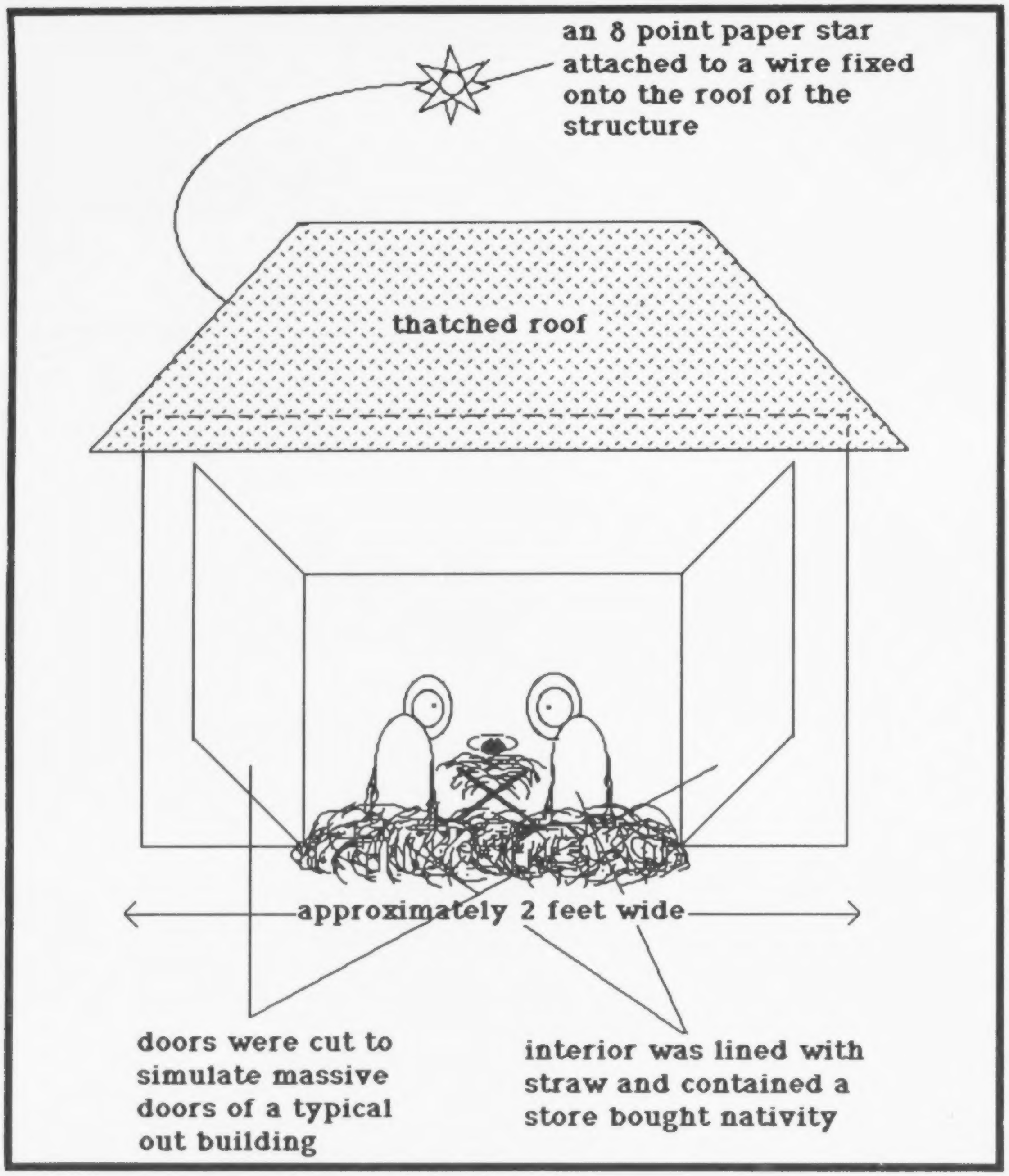
an 8 point paper star attached to a wire fixed onto the roof of the structure
thatched roof
approximately 2 feet wide
doors were cut to simulate massive doors of a typical out building
interior was lined with straw and contained a store bought nativity

Diagram 10: VERTEP* - Front View

* A houselike structure made from a paper carton or wooden crate. The interior is lined with straw and contains figures depicting the nativity of Jesus Christ in a manger in a stable. A paper star is attached to a guide wire fixed onto the thatched roof of the structure and represents the star of Bethlehem which guided the three wise men to the sight of the birth.

Novyi Rik

The observance of *Novyi Rik* generally encompassed a two-part celebratory period.* First there were the preparations for and observance of New Year's Eve or " Malanka ". Second, there were the activities participated in the observance and celebration of New Year's Day (ie. *Novyi Rik* (proper) or " Vasylia ". All of the preparations, observances and celebrations associated with these days are described and discussed in greater detail.

Malanka

While the preparations involved for the observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* were essentially the culmination of all of the preparations within an individual household during *Pylypivka* , the preparations which were involved for *Malanka* were essentially the typical preparations required before any *sviata* or Sunday.** These preparations took place during the three and a half day respite between *Stefana* (the third day of *Rizdvo*) and the evening of *Malanka* . As with the preparations for the observance of *Rizdvo* , the preparations and activities participated in before *Novyi Rik* involved the ensurance that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the day and a half stretching from dusk on *Malanka* to the end of the day on

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*All of the informants agreed on this sub-division in the observance of *Novyi Rik* .
**All of the informants emphasized the fact that the *sviata* for *Novyi Rik* were spent as a series of Sundays.

Vasylia .[*] For the men in a family, it meant that all of the heavy labour outdoors had to be completed. These activities included taking care of the livestock (ie. cleaning out and bedding down the stables and stalls with fresh hay, and making sure that there was enough feed or *sichka* to last through the *sviata*). The men also had to ensure that there was enough wood and/or alternate fuel available for the household. Essentially, all that the men were once again allowed to do during the day and half holiday period was to feed their livestock, milk any cows that they had, and drive their families to church and/or to family and friends for visiting. For the women in a family, preparing for *Novyi Rik* meant that all of the heavy work indoors had to once again be completed. These activities included housecleaning (ie. tidying, washing the floors, laundering any neccessary table and bed linens), laundering the family's clothing which was to be worn during the *sviata* , and the preparation and cooking of the food to be consumed during that day and a half period.[**] While there were specific and requisite dishes and foodstuffs which were prepared for the Christmas holidays, there were no such requirements for the New Year holidays. The food that was prepared, was that which was available and convenient to prepare from the family's existing food stocks.

The observance of *Malanka* was regarded as a social celebration during which every village household - and especially those households where marriageable young women lived[1] - expected to be visited by a travelling troupe of jovial entertainers made up of young unmarried men and/or women.[2] *Malanka* was not only the name given to New Year's Eve, but was also the name given to the door to door travelling entourages which performed that evening, as well as, being the name of the main character within those entertaining troupes.[3] Generalizations regarding *Malanka* extended further, in that, both those who participated in the travelling troupes, as well as those households which received them, stated that they ". . .made Malanka " or ". . .robyly Malanku ".[4]

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[*] All of the informants mentioned that *Novyi Rik* stretched from dusk on the 13th of January through to the end of the day on the 14th of January - in accordance with the Julian calendar.

[**] All of the informants agreed on this typical division labour within their families.

Depicting the standard stereotypes of day to day village life, and then some, the *Malanka* troupe was made up of the following characters:[5] a woman or *Malanka* ; an ordinary young man who led the vedmid' around; a Gypsy or " TSyhan "; a Jew or " ZHyd ";* and, in some instances, possibly a soldier or " viis'kovyk "; a policeman or " zhandarm "; and/or a Pole or " Poliak ".[6] In some instances, a bear or " vedmid' " also appeared.[1] The ultimate goal of the performers in a *Malanka* troupe was to bring humour and laughter into a home, as well as in some minor way, provide a glimpse, indeed reflect, a particular family's future for the upcoming year - especially in regards to the fate of their marriageable daughter who was made fun of during the troupe's performance. As with the *Zvizda* , *SHopka* and *Vertep* , some planning and preparation was done during *Pylypivka* to ready a *Malanka* troupe for the New Year's Eve festivities. The bear's costume had to be made.[2] Similarly, the various parts of the other costumes had to be collected and/or made. The neccessary costume parts included: a chain for leading the bear around; a disheveled hat, discheveled clothing, a walking stick and hair (or similar material for a beard) for the Gypsy's costume; a black stovepipe hat, as well as hair (or similar material for a beard and sideburns) for the Jew's costume; and, a woman's dress and head kerchief for *Malanka* .[3] The entire troupe, when fully garbed, admittedly looked rather sombre as they all wore black over-coats/capes over their improvised costumes. However, its intent and actions were far from subdued in that its goal was to welcome in the new year with cheer, humour and good will.

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[1] Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 15-18 mentions that unmarried young women participated in a number of fortunetelling and superstitious practices (similar to those participated in on *Andreia*) on New Year's Eve. 14 beliefs and practices are described. See also Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 158-159 where 7 beliefs and practices are described.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #5. All of the informants stated however, that typically, the *Malanka* troupes were made up of young men.

[3] All of the informants mentioned this.

[4] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[5] See also " Malanka " in Kolberg, Op. cit., pp. 121-129 for a general description of the *Malanka* process. Included are 10 *Malanka* carols - 5 of which have their accompanying melodies notated.

*All of the informants mentioned these characters as standard members of *Malanka* troupes.

[6] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Within those villages where there were sizeable populations of Poles, a local constabulary, or a

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number of returned ex-Austrian army soldiers - these people would have also been depicted in a *Malanka* troupe.

[1] See also Klymasz, Op. cit., p. 10 for a description of the typical characters making up a *Malanka* troupe. He mentions in addition, that there could have been a " Jewess ", a chimney sweep, a blacksmith, and a strange " Moscovite ". As well, pp. 141-149 contain 5 *Malanka* mummers songs with melodies.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[3] Ibid.

Each member of the *Malanka* troupe had their own particular role to play and based their actions upon the stereotyped perceptions of the selected village minority members depicted in their particular troupe. Their roles are summarized by the following:

> " . . .Bo tse vony ishly do seredyny khaty. . .pered Novym Rokom - u vechir prosylysy. . .Vedmid' shukav iisty. . .a TSyhan khotiv vorozhyty . . .i khotiv shos' uziety, ale tam druhyi skhapav. . .i take vo. . .to take shoby shos' smiiatys' z toho! To take robyly. . .a Zhyd khotiv iakis' ' gishefty ' robyty. . .Shos' khotiv kupyty tsy prodaty. . .a Malanka iakis' zbytky robyla. . .khotila khatu iakos' zapriataty. . .shoby bulo z toho smiiatysia take, ale ne shoby vona shos' polomyla abo shos'. . ."[1]

> " . . .Because this was something that was performed inside a home. . .on New Year's Eve they [the *Malanka* troupe] asked if they could come in . . .The bear searched for something to eat. . .The Gypsy wanted to tell the future. . .and also wanted to steal something, but another member of the troupe prevented that by snatching the item beforehand. . .it was like that. . .things were done to amuse the family members in the house . . .So they did things like that. . .The Jew wanted to conduct some business. . .wanted to buy or sell something. . .And *Malanka* got into mischief. . .by trying to help clean the house. . .Pranks were done so as to amuse, but never went as far as to break or damage something. . ."

The process of entertaining with the travelling *Malanka* troupe was similar to the process of *koliaduvannia* in that it was an anticipated and appreciated event by most families within the village.[2] It began after supper on New Year's Eve and continued until well after midnight. When the group approached a house, they asked to come in, did their performance(s), were rewarded for their efforts, and went on to the next home. They differed from the typical carolling and/or theatrical groups that performed over *Rizdvo* in three ways. First, there was no accompanying carolling or singing. Second, there were no religious themes tied to its entertainment. And third, the activities always took place indoors.

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] From the recollections of Dmytro Kostash.

Mention must be made of the *Vedmid'* costume[1], which was constructed during *Pylypivka* . Its construction was not unlike that of the overcape of the *Koza* costume. Essentially, it was a woolly overgarment with a separate head cover, designed to simulate the woolly overcoat of a bear. It was made from an oversized sack (such as from milled flour) onto which were sewn layers of tufted forest rushes/grasses known as *trokhsha* . The head covering had an opening for the face and had bear-shaped ears sewn on. Quite often, only the head piece alone was made and worn as the bear costume.

Novyi Rik (proper)

St. Basil's Day or " Vasylia " was observed on the 14th of January (by the Julian Calendar) and was New Year's Day or " Novyi Rik (proper)".* As with *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* was a term which applied not only to the day and a half holiday period covering New Year's, but was also specifically used to refer to New Year's Day. *Vasylia* was an enthusiastically looked forward to feast day for the children within a family. On this day, children were allowed, indeed encouraged, to go to their neighbouring family members and/or friends homes to scatter grains while reciting felicitations of good fortune and good will for the new year. This scattering of grain was known as " zasivannia "* and was one of a number of magical and ritualistic beliefs and practices observed on this day. In addition, *Vasylia* could have also been observed as someone's nameday. Each of these elements in the observance of *Vasylia* will be described in turn.

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[1] From the recollections of Dmytro Kostash.

*All of the informants alternated the nomenclature in calling New Year's Day as either *Novyi Rik* or *Vasylia* .

On typical *sviata* , the day's notable activities began with the attendance at mass at the local village church, whereas on *Vasylia* , the day's special events actually began as the household stirred from sleep. In Sniatyn, the first practice which was observed occured during morning ablutions. On the morning of *Vasylia* , when one washed, he or she washed themselves from a basin filled with water containing a few coins.[1] There were a number of beliefs associated with the washing of one's hands and face in this water - depending on which member of the family (male or female) washed from it. For the men in a family, washing one's face and hands in this moneyed water was supposed to bring about good health, success, skill and prosperity in the new year. For the women in a family, washing one's face and hands in this water brought about good health, success, skill and beauty. Money it was believed, with its perceived inherent value of good fortune, wealth and power, had the ability to bring about good things in the new year for the individual who washed in water containing a few coins first thing on the first day of the year. As a result, this washing ritual was seen as one way in which one could attain and insure good fortune and happiness in the new year.[1]

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*All of the informants fondly recalled that they scattered grain on New Year's Day as children.

[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

The activity of *zasivannia* was, by far, the highlight of New Year's Day for children and adults alike. For the children it was a golden opportunity to have some legitimate fun in creating a mess within people's homes (by scattering grains), while at the same time, earning some money for themselves (by reciting well-wishing felicitations for the households concerned). For the adults it was a welcomed and much appreciated expression of good fortune for their health, happiness, as well as, for their success in the upcoming agricultural season. The examples of texts which follow of the children's felicitations indicate the nature of the well-wishing expressed:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na shchastia, na zdorovia	For happiness, for health
Na novyi rik!	In the new year!
Aby vam rodylosia lipshe	So that your crops would grow better
IAk v tu rik!"[2]	Than in the past year!"

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 279. Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 27 describes a similar practice among the Hutsuls wherein one washed in salted water on New Year's Day.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. This compares with a similar verse recited in the Kolomya district located west of Chortkiv. See Oskar Kolberg, Pokucie (Pokuttia) Vol. I. (Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1882), p. 131:

Sij sia - rody sia
zyto - pszenycia,
na szczastie, na zdorowie, na sej nowyj rik,
szczoby urodyla sia krasna jak w toj rik,
i szczoby ste si swiata widprowadyly
y druhych doczekaly
w myrnosty, radosty i weselosty.

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Len po kolina	Flax to your knees
Aby v vas holova ne bolila!"[1]	So that your head will not ache!"

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na shchastia, na zdorovia	For happiness, for health
Na novyi rik!	In the new year!
Shoby vam Boh dav	May God grant you
Dobryi Rik![2]	A good year!"

" Siisia, rodysia	" Sow, grow
Rodysia pshenytsia	Grow wheat
Vsiaka pashnytsia	And all types of grains
Na novyi rik	In the new year
Na Vasylia	On St. Basil's Day
IAk im dochekaly	As you have awaited to see
On tak o provadyly	Him provide for you
Na shchestia, na mnokhykh lit	Happiness, for many years
Prozhyly![3]	May you live through!"

Young boys and girls up to approximately twelve years of age participated in *Zasivannia* .* As soon as they awoke on New Year's Day, children would grab any small sack available in their homes, fill it with seeds (typically grain seeds such as wheat, rye, oats and/or barley), gather in small groups of two to four (of either family members or friends) and go to their immediate neighbours to scatter those grains and recite their felicitations.* Travelling from house to house within their immediate neighbourhood(s), the typical process of *zasivannia* went as follows:

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #5. This compares with a verse recited in the Horodenko district located to the immediate north of Sniatyn. See Kolberg, Op. cit., p. 130. Note the regional pronunciations of the words: zeto, sij si, rody si):

Sij si, rody si - zeto, pszenyci,
len po kolina - kolopni po stely (po scieli),
soroczka po zemli - by holowa ne bolila.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] John Chiliibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants fondly recalled participating in *zasivannia* as children in their native village areas.

> " Nu, ta sho. . .IA pryishov do vuika, pokav tam. . .' Vuiku - vidtvory dveri! '. . .Tai kaie ' Dobryden' tsy tam Dobryi ranok! '. . .IA kazhu ' IA pryishov tut '. . .' Idy sii ' zaprosyv. Ia posiiav, a vin vytieh paro tsentiv, i kynuv meni. . .I ia pishov dali. "[1]

> " Well, it was like this. . .I came up to my uncle's house and knocked . . .and said ' Uncle, open the door! '. . .and he said ' Good Morning! ' . . .and I said ' I have come here [to scatter grain] '. . .' Go sow ' he said and asked me to scatter. I scattered, and then he pulled out a few pennies, and threw them to me. . .And then I went on. "

The term " zasivaty " (literally - to sow) actually gives greater insight as to the meaning of this ritual performance. It was believed that through the imitation of the actual act of sowing seeds by hand+ and the concurrent recitation of well-wishing felicitations for a good year - the good fortune which was wished, was transferred to the household in which it was performed.[2] Further, it was believed that children, being the innocents that they were, were the best mediums for transferring this good fortune to the various households concerned.[1] For their efforts, the well-wishers were rewarded either with money (in pennies)*, fruit (such as apples and/or pears) and/or baked goods (such as *pampukhy* doughnuts).[2] All of these rewards were regarded as special treats. The children participated in *zasivannia* up until it was time for their families to attend mass (approximately two to three hours).

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

+All of the informants mentioned that most of the phases of agriculture within their village areas were very primitive at the time they emigrated. As such, seeding was done by hand in a sweeping scattering motion as one walked the length of their plowed furrows.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 114-115 describes the practice whereby the seeds which were scattered by the children on New Year's Day were partially given to the chickens to eat (so that they would lay better and/or multiply) and partially incorporated into the granary seed stores so that they could be sown in the spring.

Following the attendance of mass by the majority of the village community, the rest of *Vasylia* was spent socializing, either indoors or outdoors (just as on any *sviata* or Sundays).** For children, it meant participating in various winter activities associated with fun in the snow outdoors (ie. sledding, snowballing, sliding etc.), as well as, participating in quieter play activities indoors (ie. colouring, playing house, playing soldier etc.). For the adults, socializing meant either entertaining visitors who came to their homes or going out to visit family and/or friends. As such, the activities were similar to those participated in during *Pylypivka* , during *sviata* , on Sundays or at any time of the year when circumstances and time permitted. These activities included: talking, singing, playing instruments (solo and/or in accompaniment to the singing), telling tales and/or stories, joking, eating, drinking, playing cards etc.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

*All of the informants mentioned that the children who went to scatter grains for family and/or friends were rewarded for their efforts with whatever the head of the household had on hand or could afford to give.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #6.

**All of the informants mentioned that these were standard activities for young and old in their native village areas.

All of the informants vaguely remembered that there were some weather beliefs associated with New Year's Day, however, no specifics in regards to what was foretold could be recalled.[1] It is quite possible, that given the ritualistic practices associated with *zasivannia* and the agricultural year, the weather beliefs associated with New Year's Day could have been tied into predicting the conditions of planting, the growing season and/or harvesting.

Iordan

The observance of *Iordan* encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period.* First, there were the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan or " SHCHedryi Vechir ". Second, there were the activities associated with the observance and celebration of the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan (proper)". All of the preparations, observances and celebrations associated with these days are described and discussed on the following pages.

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[1] Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 19 describes 7 beliefs and superstitious practices participated in on New Year's Eve in the Black Sea region of Russian administered Ukraine. The activities participated in were associated with predicting weather for the year (especially for the upcoming agricultural season), as well as, predicting one's personal fortune and success in the new year. See also Franko, Op. cit., p. 207 for a comparison with the Carpathian Foothill area. ZHatkovich, Op. cit., pp. 4,10-11 describes that numerous weather beliefs existed in Hungarian administered Ukraine on all three important eve's of the winter holiday season. Most of these beliefs predicted not only the weather for the upcoming agricultural season, but also the plentifulness of the home garden, as well as the productivity and fertility of one's domestic animals.

*All of the informants agreed on this sub-division in the observance of *Iordan* .

SHCHedryi Vechir

While the preparations for the observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* were the culmination of all of the preparations within an individual household during *Pylypivka* , and the preparations for *Malanka* and *Novyi Rik* were those typically prepared for before any *sviata* or Sunday, the preparations for the observance of *SHCHedryi Vechir* and *Iordan* fell somewhere in between.[1] In a similar manner to *Malanka* , the preparations for *SHCHedryi Vechir* took place during the three and a half day respite between *Vasylia* and the evening of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan. As such, the preparatory activities were completed with the objective that no heavy work or labour would be performed (either indoors or outdoors) by any family member during the day and a half stretching from dusk on *SHCHedryi Vechir* to the end of the day on *Iordan* .* Further, just as with the activities preceeding *Sviatyi Vechir* , preparations for observing *SHCHedryi Vechir* included the cooking of a second meal*, similar to that of the *Sviata Vechera* , which was known as a " SHCHedrak ".[1]

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[1] " Trzy krole " (The Three Kings) in Kolberg, Op. cit., pp. 131-141 provides a general description of the preparations, both personal and domestic, involved in the observance of *SHCHedryi Vechir* . These preparations included fasting, attending to the livestock, blessing the outbuildings, cooking the various dishes for the *SHCHedrak*, tidying the house, setting the table and changing into holiday attire. Included are 10 *shchedrivky* - 5 of which have their accompanying melodies notated. Kolberg, Rus Czerwona , pp. 127-157 contains 37 *shchedrivky* - 29 of which have their accompanying melodies notated. Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 13-15 mentions that *shchedruvannia* took place on New Year's Eve in the Black Sea region of Russian administered Ukraine and includes 7 *shchedrivky* texts - without melodies. Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 155-157 also mentions that *shchedruvannia* took place on New Year's Eve in the Voronizh district of Russian administered Ukraine and includes 4 *shchedrivky* texts - without melodies.

*All of the informants mentioned that *Iordan* stretched from dusk on the 18th of January through to the end of the day on the 19th of January - in accordance with the Julian calendar.

While *Pist* (or Advent) ended on *Sviatyi Vechir* , the day of *SHCHedryi Vechir* was also observed as a day of fasting.** However, not everyone in a family fasted. Children up to approximately fourteen years of age did not fast because it was judged by their parents that their little bodies could not and should not tolerate a fast. Older adolescents and adult members of a family however, did fast. For many individuals, fasting meant complete abstention from all food and drink for the entire day, but for many others, it meant that one could only drink water, black coffee and/or tea throughout the day (ie. if they could afford to consume coffee and/or tea).*** Fasting ended with the approach of dusk. Since *SHCHedryi Vechir* was a fasting day, all of the dishes which were prepared for the *SHCHedrak* evening meal were meatless and milkless

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*All of the informants spoke of the preparation of a second meal on the Eve of the Feast of Jordan which was similar to that of the evening meal on *Sviat Vechir* . Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., pp. 151-154 describes three ritual meals taking place during the winter holiday season in the Chernihiv area of Russian administered Ukraine. The first meal on *Sviatyi Vechir* was called " Persha kutia " (The First Kutia) for which 12 meatless and milkless dishes were prepared and eaten after a day of fasting. The second meal on New Year's Eve was called " Druha " or " Bahata kutia " (The " Second " or " Rich " Kutia) during which *kutia* was enjoyed with meat and milk dishes, as well as, with alchohol. The third meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* was called " Tretia " or " Holodna kutia " (The " Third " or " Hungry " Kutia) which mimiced the *Sviata Vechera* , again, after a day of fasting. Domanytskyi, Op. cit., pp. 62-63, 82-83 and Dykarev, Op. cit., pp. 115, 147-155 also mention that there were three ritual meals through the winter holiday season within the districts of Volyn' and Voronizh (respectively) in Russian administered Ukraine.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

**All of the informants mentioned that *SHCHedryi Vechir* also was an important fasting day during the winter holiday period.

***All of the informants mentioned these various ways of fasting on *SHCHedryi Vechir* .

(regardless of the day of the week that *SHCHedryi Vechir* fell on).* Again, as with the *Sviata Vechera* , ideally, twelve different dishes were prepared for the *SHCHedrak* , however, variations in both the amount of food that was prepared and individual interpretations of what constituted a separate dish, as well as, the financial circumstances that existed at the time of preparation within each particular household determined the number and types of dishes and foodstuffs prepared. While the menu may have varied from household to household, one dish - *kutia* - was prepared in all homes** as it was for *Sviatyi Vechir* . The typical menu for the *SHCHedryi Vechir* meal included some, or all, or any combination of the following dishes***(again, as they were prepared for *Sviatyi Vechir*): *Kutia* ; *borshcht* ; *holubsti* (with at least two types of fillings); *pyrohy* (with at least two types of fillings); mushrooms; fish (at least two types); sauerkraut; beans; peas; beets; root vegetables; bread; a circular braided bread loaf known as a " kolach "; *sushenie* ; doughnuts known as " pampukhy "; and, tea and/or alchohol. (The recipes and methods of preparation for these dishes and foodstuffs are described within the section " *Sviatyi Vechir* " earlier in this chapter)

As dusk approached, everyone in the family waited for father and the boys to come in from completing their outdoor chores. Coming indoors signalled to everyone within the family that the hard work for

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*All of the informants mentioned that the dishes which were prepared for the observance of *SHCHedryi Vechir* had to be - and were - meatless and milkless, however, no reasons were provided as to why this particular day was treated as a day of fasting.

**All of the informants agreed that *kutia* was also the requisite dish for the *SHCHedrak* meal.

***All of the informants mentioned the various types of dishes and foodstuffs listed.

the day was nearly over and that the Jordan holidays or " Iordans'ki sviata "[1] were about to begin. While the men washed up and changed into their holiday attire (ie. their " Sunday best " clothing), mother and the girls finished up the food preparations for the *SHCHedrak* and set the table. When everyone and everything was ready, the entire family gathered about the dining table and a centerpiece candle was lit. Before sitting down to eat, the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father), usually led by the head of the household, was said aloud. At the end of this prayer, everyone sat down to eat.[2] As with the *Sviata Vechera* , the participation of every family member was expected at the *SHCHedrak* and each family member strove to be at that evening meal.[3]

Unlike the *Sviata Vechera* meal, the *SHCHedrak* meal had no particular rituals, practices, magical elements and/or beliefs associated with it. The only exception to this was that the *kutia* was eaten first as it was during the *Sviata Vechera* . After every family member had a taste of the *kutia* , the rest of the dishes and foodstuffs were eaten in due course during the meal. The end of the meal was often, if not usually signalled by the spontaneous singing of Jordan carols or " shchedrivky " , which often continued intermittently throughout the rest of the evening amidst the various activities that family members participated in*. While the evening meal itself on *SHCHedryi Vechir* had no particular associated practices and/or beliefs, the same could not be said of the activities which took place before and after the meal. A ritual lay blessing of the farm outbuildings by the head of the household took place before the meal, and the placement of blessed water on the dining table took place after the meal. Each of these activities will be described and discussed in turn.

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

*All of the informants mentioned this general order of events during the *SHCHedrak* meal.

The last outdoor activity which was completed before coming in for the evening meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* involved the blessing of the various farm outbuildings (ie. the stable, granary, storage house, root cellar etc.).[1] This task was undertaken by the head of the household accompanied by his son(s) as it was the men in a family who primarily looked after the outdoor work.[2] Where there were no sons in a family, daughters accompanied their fathers in this ritual practice.[3] Taking the left-over blessed water from the previous year (to be discussed in the following section " Iordan "), the head of the household took a homemade aspergillum (sprinkler) fashioned either from straw (see Diagram 11 for construction techniques)[4], or from a single wheat stalk which still had its intact head[5], and then walked about his property or " obiistia "[6] to bless the various outbuildings by making a sign of the cross while saying the following: " Vo imia Otsia, i Syna, i Sviatoho Dukha. Amin'. "

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[1] Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 280 confirms this practice also adding that this lay blessing is often duplicated on *Sviatyi Vechir* , p. 275.
[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Dmytro Kostash, Interview #7.
[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.
[5] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[6] Ibid

(In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.).[1] The child accompanying the head of the household followed closely behind while ceremoniously holding a little bread loaf in both hands - palm side up.[2] There was a process involved in this blessing:

> " . . .v nas khodyly z kropyvom z sviachenoiu vodoiu na Iordan. . . Hospodar khodyv pered vecheroiu. . .zrobyv kropyvo z solomy, z kolkotu. . . I vony potomu to machaly v sviachenu vodu. . .i na kozhnim porozi do kotroho budynku. . .do stainy, do shpykliara, do komory, do pivnytsi. . . tato molyvsia i khrestyvsia. . .A odyn z khloptsiv nosyv khlib ' knysh ' (takyi khlib malyi, kruhlyi. . .a na verkha ie, postavyly chesnyk). . .i na kozhnim porozi de my khodyly, kusaly. . .My kusaly dovkola zvidsy, zvidsy, zvidsy, zvidsy z vsikh bokiv. "[3]

> " . . .in our village, there was a practice of walking about with an aspergillum and blessed water on *Iordan* . . .The head of the household, before the evening meal [on *SHCHedryi Vechir*], made a homemade aspergillum from straw, from the long straight pieces of straw. . .which he then dipped in holy water. . .then at the threshold of every outbuilding [ie. the stable, granary, storage house, root cellar etc.] my father prayed and made a sign of the cross [with the aspergillum]. . . and one of the sons carried a small bread loaf called a ' knysh ' (a little round loaf baked with a piece of garlic on top). . .and at every threshold a bite was taken out of that loaf. . .here, here, here, here all around [in the shape of a cross]. "

The purpose of this lay blessing of the *obiistia* was to safeguard its inhabitants, and their contents from any possible ill and/or evil for the new year in the same manner that the local parish priest came around on or after *Iordan* to bless one's home[1] (to be discussed later in this chapter within the section " Iordan ").

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] From the recollections of John Hrynchyshyn, Interviews #1 and #6. Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 22 mentions that the lay blessing with holy water of the farm outbuildings on *SHCHedryi Vechir* was also accompanied by ritual chalk markings of crosses over every doorway, and, that the accompanying foodstuff was a bowl of *pyrohy* . Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., p. 153 mentions that the accompanying foodstuff was a loaf of bread topped with a little bit of salt. Domanytskyi, Op. cit., p. 63 adds that the reason for this lay blessing was for the chasing away of any evil spirits which could hamper the family and its holdings in the new year.

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[1] John Hrychchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

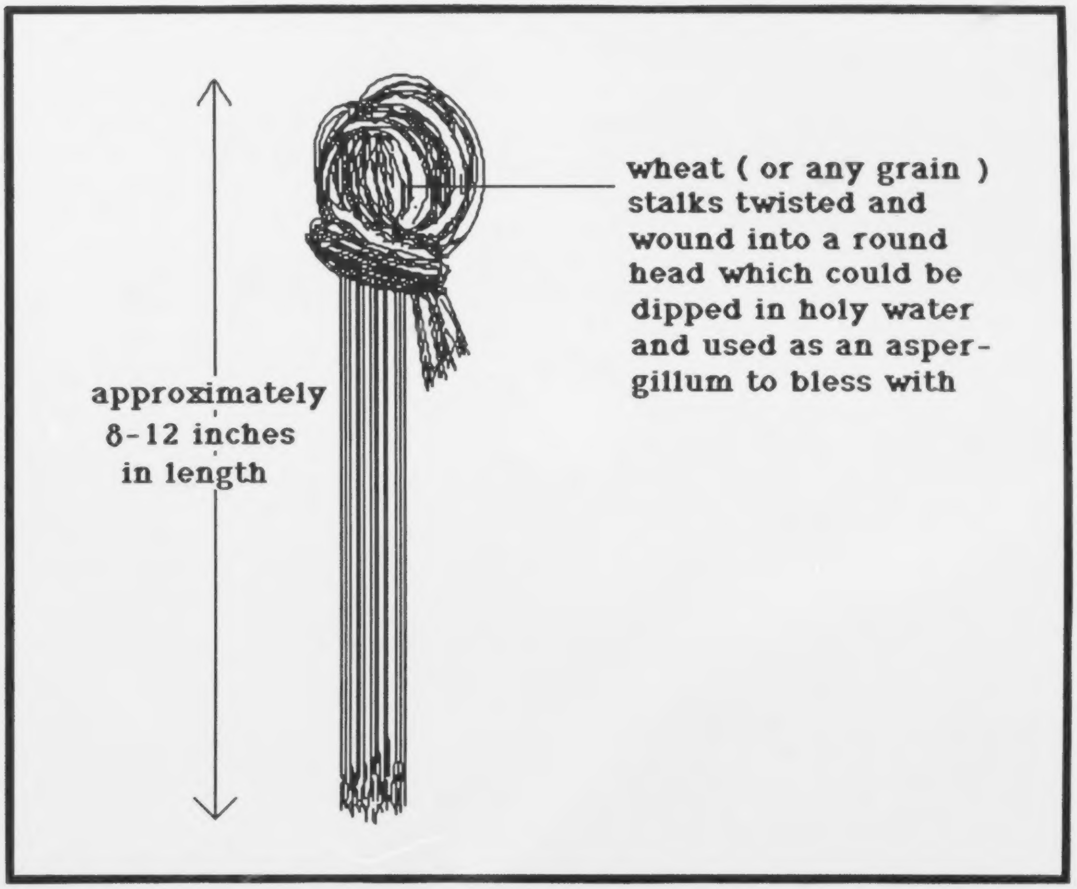
approximately
8-12 inches
in length
wheat (or any grain) stalks twisted and wound into a round head which could be dipped in holy water and used as an aspergillum to bless with

Diagram 11: KROPYLO* - Side View

* An aspergillum (or sprinkler) made from long straw stalks.

Following the meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* , the left over holy water which was used to bless the farm's outbuildings before the meal, was left on the dining table so that the dead within a family could come and drink it.[1] It was believed, that on *SHCHedryi Vechir* , the dead members of a family returned to their families to partake of the *SHCHedrak*. As a result, provisions had to be made to ensure that the dead, when they came, would be able to drink (in the same way that the dead came after the *Sviata Vechera* to partake of the *kutia* which was left for them).[2] This water was left on the dining table overnight and was cleared away following breakfast the next morning. Usually, this water, if it had not evaporated by the morning, would have been incorporated into the preparation of the breakfast meal.[3]

Following the *SHCHedrak* , the children stayed home and spent the rest of the evening playing indoors. The adolescents within a family participated in a variety of activities following the evening meal. Typically, groups of either boys or girls participated in Jordan Eve door to door carolling known as " shchedruvannia ". Adolescent girls also could have stayed at home to either watch over their younger siblings at play and assist in readying them for bed, or, help their mothers tidy up after the *SHCHedrak* meal. The women within a family concentrated on indoor activities following the *SHCHedrak* meal. Their functions included tidying up after the evening meal, making provisions to ensure that any carollers and/or visitors who came to their home could be welcomed with food and/or refreshments, supervising the activities of their children and ensuring that the household was prepared to attend church and visit or receive visitors the following day on *Iordan* . The men within a family following the evening meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* again concentrated on the outdoors. Their primary concern was to ensure that their livestock was fed and bedded down for the night. In Sniatyn, the head of the household was also responsible for burning the *snip* of grain which stood in the house since *Sviatyi Vechir* . Just as with the burning of the *didukh* on the third day of *Rizdvo* , the *snip* was burned in the same area on *SHCHedryi Vechir* , but unlike the burning of the *diduch* , no ceremonies and/or games were associated with its burning.[1] Following the completion of all of the evening chores (both indoors and outdoors), the young single men and women within the family often went carolling door to door.*

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

SHCHedruvannia on *SHCHedryi Vechir* [2], like *koliaduvannia* over *Rizdvo* , was an event greatly looked forward to by most families in the village.** And, as *koliaduvannia* , there was an actual process to *shchedruvannia* .[3] Typically, the carolling groups were non-sponsored, spontaneously organized groups of friends and/or peers which were either entirely male or female.* Carolling began immediately after the *SHCHedrak* evening meal and continued well into the night - often until after midnight. When a group of carollers approached a house, they would either ask permission from outside the house before knocking, or knock on the main door of the house to ask if they could carol and for whom they were to carol. Following these questions, the head of the household requested that the group of carollers sing for (a) particular member(s) of his family. The group wound then sing their carol(s).[1] Unlike *koliaduvannia* , the *shchedruvannia* song repertoire was not strongly tied to religious themes. The songs were typically directed and composed to express a wish for good fortune and goodwill for the individual(s) for whom they were intended. For example, carols were created and sung specifically for a head of a household, his wife, any marriageable young men and/or women, adolescent boys and/or girls, and young boys and/or girls. Examples of the types of *shchedrivky* that were sung follow:

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

*All of the informants described this general schedule of tasks and/or activities for males and females on *SHCHedryi Vechir* .

[2] Kolomyichenko, Op. cit., pp. 144-148 describes *shchedruvannia* as an activity participated in on New Year's Eve exclusively by girls and very young boys in the Voronizh area of Russian administered Ukraine. The description of the process of *shchedruvannia* is similar to that of *koliaduvannia* already mentioned within this work. Included are 8 texts of *shchedrivky* without melodies.

**All of the informants mentioned that carollers or *shchedrivnyky* carolled door to door on the Eve of the Feast of Jordan.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

> " . . .A teper, buly shchedrivky iaki spivaly khloptsiam, menshym, malym khloptsiam. I meni taku spivaly. . .[in 4/4 time kolomyika rhythm]

" Oi Ivaniu, Ivanochku
(or any name)
Zhytnyi kolosochku
V vikni sydzhu, tebe vydzhu
KHodysh po sadochku "[2]

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*All of the informants mentioned that *shchedrivnyky* were usually either all male or all female groups.

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer. For an excellent reference, with respect to the sheer number of *shchedrivky* texts and

" . . .And now, there were *shchedrivky* that they sang for little boys. And they sang one for me. . .[in 4/4 time kolomyika rhythm]

" Oh John, little Johnnie
(or any name)
A little rye spike top
As I sit in the window, I see you
Walking in the orchard "

Or *shchedrivky* sung for a young man. . .

" Tam na richtsi, na Iordani	" There on a river, the Jordan river
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie	The Jordan river is overflowing
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie	The Jordan river is overflowing
Stefan divchynu obiimaie[1]	And Stefan is embracing a girl "
(or any name)	(or any name)

or. . .

" Tam na richtsi, na Iordani	" There on a river, the Jordan river
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie	The Jordan river is overflowing
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie	The Jordan river is overflowing
Ivan konia napuvaie[2]	And John is watering his horse "
(or any name)	(or any name)

**

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their accompanying melodies, see Volodymyr Hnatiuk " Koliadky i SHCHedrivky " (Christmas and New Year Carols) in Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk Vols. XXXV-XXXVI (1914). Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 17-71 provides 23 secular carols with melodies of which 9 are dedicated for the master of the house, 8 for the young maiden in the household, 4 for the young man of the house, and, 2 dedicated for the lady of the house.

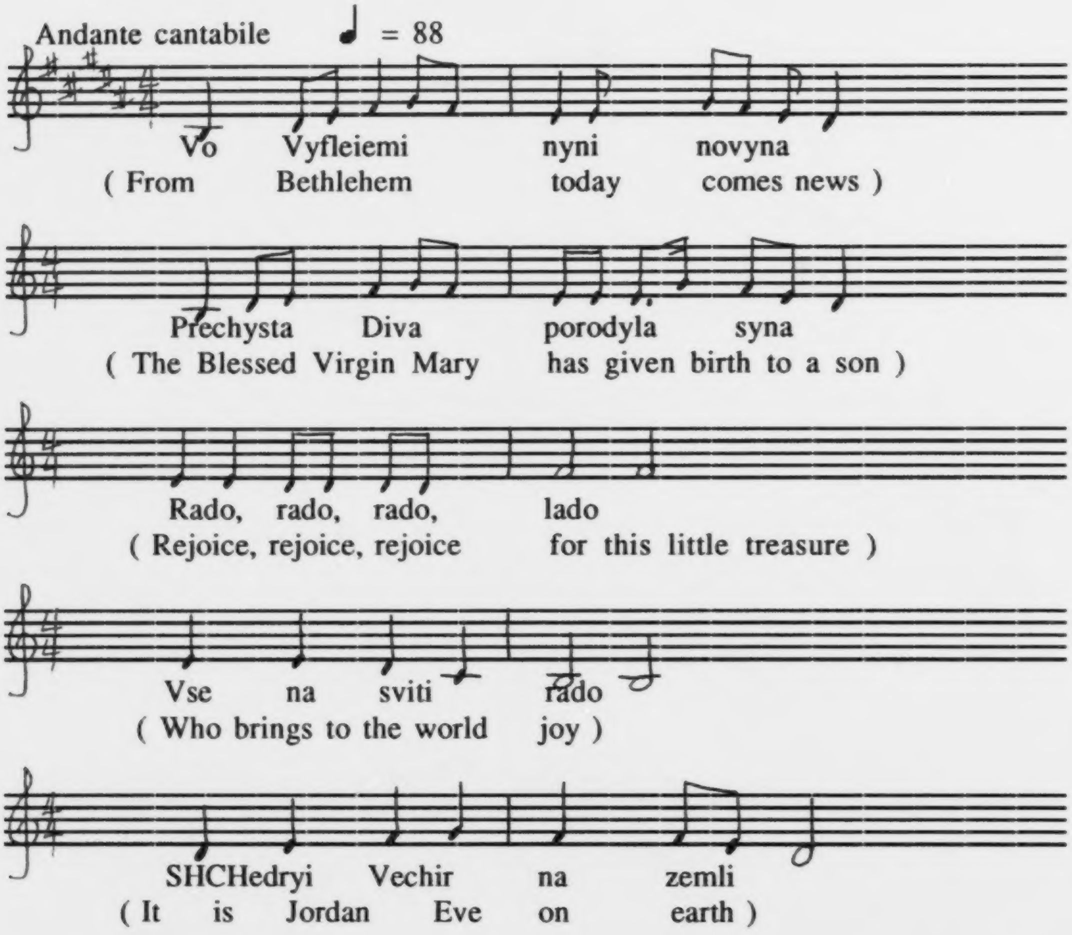
[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid. Both of these carols compare with a version recorded in Saskatchewan in the 1960's contained within Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 63-64:

Tam na ritsy, na Iordany
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie
Iordan vodu rozlyvaie
Tam Mykola konia napuvaie.

There were religious *shchedrivky* , but considerably fewer in number than their counterparts of *koliady* .[*] An example follows:

SHCHedryi Vechir na Zemli[1]
(It is the Eve of the Feast of Jordan on this Earth)


Andante cantabile
♩ = 88
Vo Vyfleiemi nyni novyna
(From Bethlehem today comes news)
Prechysta Diva porodyla syna
(The Blessed Virgin Mary has given birth to a son)
Rado, rado, rado, lado
(Rejoice, rejoice, rejoice for this little treasure)
Vse na sviti rado
(Who brings to the world joy)
SHCHedryi Vechir na zemli
(It is Jordan Eve on earth)

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[*] All of the informants mentioned that the typical number of *shchedrivky* which were known and sung were considerably less than those known of *koliady* .

[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. This is an example of what Sokolov, Op. cit., pp. 183-184 describes as the tendency toward ever increasing similarity between *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* with respect to theme and textual content. With the passage of time, their agrarian-magical significance (ie. harvest, wealth, health, fertility, marriage, etc.) became replaced with religious themology (ie. the birth of Jesus Christ).

Unlike *koliaduvannia* , which could have taken place either inside or outside a home, *shchedruvannia* always took place outside a home - under the main window of the house.[1] Further, after the group finished carolling, there was no recitation of well-wishing felicitations because the carols themselves were viewed as being well-wishing felicitations.* After they sang their *shchedrivky* , the carollers were then rewarded with either food and/or drink and/or money. After the *shchedrivnyky* finished singing, they thanked the members of the household for their generousity, said their farewells, and then moved on to the next house where the entire sequence of events was repeated.

Following all of the various activities that were participated in by all of the members of a family after the *SHCHedrak* , and, depending on the schedule of services at the local village church, a typical household either went to sleep or readied themselves to attend Midnight Mass for *Iordan* .[2]

Iordan (proper)

Iordan was observed on the 19th of January (by the Julian Calendar)**, and was, for the most part, spent as any *sviata* or Sunday. The day began by attending mass at the local village church, while the rest of the day was spent socializing with family and/or friends. *Iordan* was observed and celebrated as the day Jesus Christ was baptized in the Jordan River and the church service incorporated the blessing of water to celebrate this event. As a result, attendance at the service on this day was of paramount importance for most of the villagers because they were able to collect their annual supply of holy water to take home for their own personal use(s).*

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

*All informants mentioned that the *shchedrivky* were sung as felicitations. See also Ilarion, Op. cit., p. 278.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

**All of the informants observed *Iordan* on the 19th of January in their native village areas.

Attendance at mass on *Iordan* by most of the villagers, and their subsequent collection of blessed holy water were highlighted events in the observance of this particular holiday. It was important to have holy water in one's home because it was believed that this water had the capacity to help whomever and/or whatever it touched.** As a result, its uses were practically limitless. Following are a sampling of the actual uses and beliefs associated with this blessed water. Generally, the water had the ability to either prevent illness or cure illness upon ingestion.[1] Similarly, it had the ability to either prevent pain or relieve pain upon ingestion.[2] Washing, with a bit of this holy water mixed in with an individual's wash water was supposed to preserve and/or enhance beauty, as well as, prevent any potential disfiguration(s) of the skin.[3] Holy water was also used for the lay blessing of seeds prior to planting, as well as, for the lay blessing of fields and/or crops prior to or following planting.[1] Blessed water was used by midwives to give lay christenings to newborn infants immediately upon birth to protect them in case of death prior to their actual christening days and/or weeks later* by the clergy. On *SHCHedryi Vechir* , this water was used by the head of the household for a lay blessing of his granary, stable, storage house, drinking well, root cellar, farmstead etc.[2] It was also used in the lay blessing of members of the family leaving home for long protracted journeys (such as travelling to find seasonal labour), for those who were emigrating, or for sons going off to military service.[3] And finally, holy water was generally used to bless anything that was deemed neccessary to be blessed. Utilizing the phrase: " V im'ia Otsia i Syna i Sviatoho Dukha Amin' " (In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit Amen) while making the sign of the cross with the right hand (which was previously dipped in the holy water) over the items and/or persons being blessed, enabled anyone to prevent, circumvent and/or minimize any real and/or perceived evils, catastrophes (such as warding off bad weather) or similar bad fortune from affecting any given family.[4]

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*All of the informants talked of the significance of this church service because it was during this service that their families collected their holy water for the year. In addition, each informant stated a number of uses and/or beliefs associated with that blessed water.

**All of the informants were able to list a number of uses and/or beliefs associated with the holy water collected in church on *Iordan* . See also Kramarenko, Op. cit., p. 24, and Dykarev, Op. cit., p. 116.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

Immediately following mass on *Iordan* , the service to bless the water took place. In Chortkiv, the village areas represented by the informants were not located either on or near a river. As a result, the water blessing services were relatively uneventful in that they were incorporated into the mass on that day. The water was blessed in church in a steel or wooden tub known as a " tseber ".[1] In Sniatyn, the village areas represented by the informants were located on the Prut River. As a result, the blessing of water took place on the river banks where holes were sawed through the covering layer of ice.[2] Immediately following mass on *Iordan* , the congregation proceeded to the river banks to take part in the water blessing service. For their little journey to the river bank, members of the congregation were given a little torch made from a piece of slow burning hardwood known as a " hupka ".[3] While carrying this *hupka* to the river banks, the parishioners chanted the phrase " Kiry lei stom "[4] (Kyrie eleison . . .ie. Lord Have Mercy):

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned that newborns were immediately christened by the midwives attending the births.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Op. cit., and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

> " Zara po sluzhbi. . .paliut' vohon' takii, hupka taka. . .i kazaly ' Kiry lei stom '. Bo liudy vzhe ishly z tserkvy. . .i kozhdyi mav vohon' i odyn druhomu podavav kotryi ne mav. . .Tai popalyly toi hup, to iak to nazyvaiesy. . .takyi to derevo take sho vono horyt' dovho, ne robyt' tak azh til'ko dymu. To, to znaiu sho tohdy robyly iak ia buv v kraiu. "[5]

> " Immediately following the service. . .a little hardwood torch was lit. . . and the people repeated ' Kyrie eleison ' (Lord Have Mercy). As the people left church. . .everyone carried a flame. . .and passed it on to those who did not have a flame. . .And that *hupka* burned as it was carried. . .it was the kind of hardwood that burned a long time without producing a lot of smoke. That is what I remember as being done in the old country. "

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Op. cit., and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] From the recollections of Dmytro Kostash.

[4] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

[5] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

Every person who attended mass on *Iordan* took with them a small container in which they were to collect their holy water. These vessels ranged in size from a drinking cup, a small jar, a large jar, a bottle to a pitcher (ie. whatever was available to take from the household at the time of the service). While the location of the water blessing service varied from parish to parish, indeed from county to county[1], one constant remained in all services - namely that of every member present rushing, almost stampede-like, toward the blessed water. Each person wanted to be the first to take some holy water after it was blessed. There was a belief attached to this practice in that whoever was the first to take of the blessed water would have greater happiness and/or fortune in the new year.*

Following the church service and blessing of the water on *Iordan* , everyone went home. Upon their arrival at home, each family member was encouraged to take a sip of the new holy water brought back with them from church.[2] This practice, it was believed, was to prevent any serious illness, physical, economic and/or other catastrophe from affecting that individual who drank of the water.[3] Similarly, a ritual washing of one's face and hands from a basin of water containing some blessed water took place. This practice, it was believed was to preserve and/or enhance one's beauty, as well as, prevent any disfigurement in the new year.[1]

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[1] Kramarenko, Op. cit., pp. 21-22 describes that the water blessing service on *Iordan* takes place at the main village well, following which, everyone who is present rushes towards it to try to be the first to take of the holy water.

*All of the informants mentioned (rather humourously in retrospective) of the " great rush " by most of the congregation for blessed water on *Iordan* .

[2] See also Onyshchuk, Op. cit., p. 28 for a description of a similar practice among the Hutsuls.

[3] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5. See also Zhatkovych, Op. cit., p. 4.

After the compulsory attendance at church by all of the able family members, the rest of the day of *Iordan*, was spent socializing either indoors or outdoors (just as on any *sviata* or Sunday). For the children, it meant participating in the various winter activities outdoors (weather permitting), as well as, participating in quieter play activities indoors. For the adults, socializing meant either entertaining visitors who came to their homes or going out themselves to visit family and/or friends. As a result, these private socials were very much like those which took place during *Pylypivka*, during *sviata*, on Sundays or at any time of the year when circumstances and time permitted. The activities on *Iordan* therefore, included: talking, singing, playing instruments, telling tales and/or stories, joking, eating, drinking, playing cards, playing games etc.

Throughout the day on *Iordan* following the church service, and throughout the days immediately afterwards, the local village priest made a point of visiting each and every household within the parish for the annual blessing of the home.* The priest came every year to each and every home to bless the family's living quarters so as to protect the family and the family home from any potential evils and/or catastrophes.[1] In fact, it was both an anticipated, yet required, visit from the local priest:

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

*All of the informants mentioned that the local village priest came around to their homes on *Iordan* to bless their families and their living quarters.

> " Vpered ide dzvinok, po vulytsy, de vin maie ity, shoby liudy znaly. IEmu treba shchos' troshky v khati tovo. . .Ide diek, ide dzvony, dzvony dzvinkom. O. . .to vzhe iedna vulytsia, vzhe znaiemo kuda pip. . .ksondz ziishov. Nu, to she na dvori, to vzhe diek spivaie. . .A dity kladut, aby sia perekhrystyly, to. . .to vin vzhe pryide ' . . .faino, faino znaiesh. Znaieshsia khrestyty. . .' vzhe pokhvalyv. TYK! To tam mama potsiluiut v khrestyk. . .tai dast. . .Tai diek i vin vtrymaiut. . .tai idut' do druhoi khaty. "[2]

> " Beforehand one hears the handbell, along the street where the priest is going to be. . .so that the people know. One has to prepare the household a little bit before he comes in. First comes the deacon ringing the handbell. And there, on your street, you know that the priest has come. . .and he enters onto your property. While still outdoors, the deacon starts to sing. And the children are brought out to be presented to the priest, so that they can cross themselves. And the priest sees this and says ' You know how to cross yourselves well ' . . .and compliments them. And ZAP! [with the aspergillum to sprinkle some holy water about the home and upon its inhabitants] Then mother kisses his cross . . .and money is given. . .And the deacon and the priest accept the money. . .And then go on to the next home. "

Paid in what amounted to a little more than pennies (units such as a " shustka " (a six cent piece in Austrian currency) or a " ryns'kyi " (an Austrian guilder) every effort was made to give the priest (ie. donate to the church) as much as one was able to afford.

St. John's Day was observed on the 20th of January immediately following *Iordan* . Although vaguely remembered by the informants as having been observed in their native village areas, no specifics in regards to the observances associated with the feast of St. John could be recalled. It appears, that on this day, normal and heavy work and/or labour resumed for all family members following the end of the winter holiday season on *Iordan* .[*] In addition, St. John's Day was the first day following the winter holiday season where the religious greeting " Slava Isusu Khrystu. . .Slava na viky " (Glory be to Jesus Christ. . .Glory be forever) was said in lieu of " KHrystos razhdaiet'sia. . .Slavite IEho " (Christ is born. . .Let us glorify him).[**] St. John's Day also marked the general resumption of community-wide participation in public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities (such as weddings).[1] And finally, it is quite possible that this day could have also been observed simply as a church holy day, a church patron saint feast day and/or as someone's name day.

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.
[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

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[*] All of the informants mentioned that *Iordan* was the last day of *sviata* during the winter holiday season, whereas, most of the literature describes St. John's Day as the last day of the winter holidays following *Iordan* .

[**] Ibid.

[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

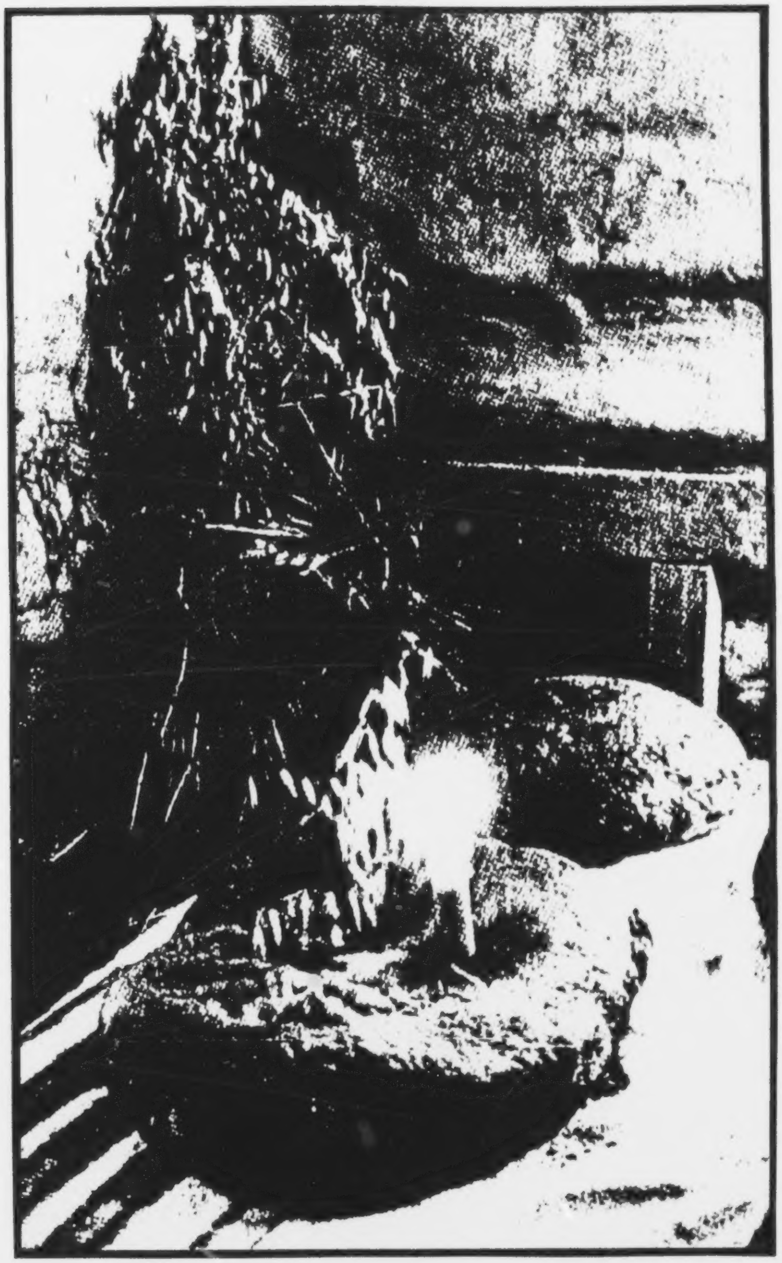

Plate 5: A sheaf of unthrashed barley (ie. a snip) located in the corner (ie. pokuttia) of a typical *khata* . Note the centerpiece *kolach* with inserted candle on the dining table in the foreground. (Reproduced in Bohdan Mykytiuk, " Christian and non-Christian Elements in Ukrainian Folk Customs " in Volodymyr IAniv, ed., Religion in the Life of the Ukrainian People, (Munich: Zapysky N.T.SH.,1966), p. 113.

CHAPTER THREE

RIZDVO

IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA

At the turn of this century, the area known today as East Central Alberta was part of the Athabasca Territory of Western Canada. The Ukrainians who emigrated to claim their 160 acre parcels of land* (within the wooded parkland belt stretching across the Western Prairies), settled a virtual wilderness devoid of people, as well as, even the most rudimentary of amenities (such as roads, rail lines etc.). It was under these primitive conditions that the informants (and their families) were expected to establish a new life for themselves.[1] Two of the informants came as young children with their families to Athabasca prior to 1905 (before the creation of the Province of Alberta). Three of the informants came to Alberta after 1905 as single young adults. All of the informants arrived prior to the outbreak of the First World War and were part of the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Western Canada.[2] The informants homesteaded, bought previously developed (or foreclosed upon) homesteads and/or moved within the Ukrainian bloc settlement which stretched northeast from Edmonton along the North Saskatchewan River. The communities that the informants settled and/or resettled to included: Redwater, Wostok, Borshchiw, Mundare, Warwick, Vegreville and Slawa (Map 2).

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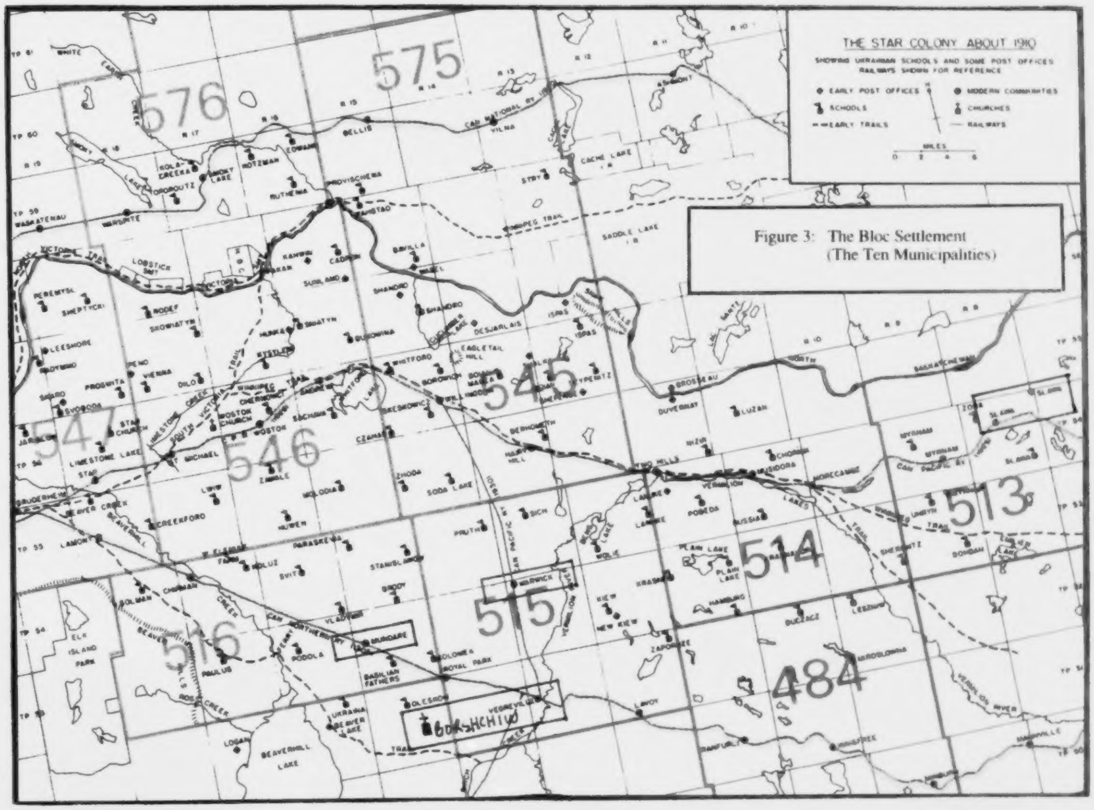
*All of the informants referred to the 160 acre parcels as " quarters " (from the fact that they were actually " one quarter " of a complete section of land - sections of land being 640 square acres in size).

[1] All of the informants described the varying physical conditions under which they and/or their families lived while struggling to clear their homesteads. Further, they had to meet stipulated conditions (with respect to land clearance and the specified period of time within which it was to be cleared) before their land ownership could be confirmed. See also " Arrival and Settlement " in Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977), pp. 19-32, and, Orest Martynowych, " The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in Alberta " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 30-59.

[2] See Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa " Settlement and Colonization " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), pp. 32-58 for a brief description of the three waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The first and largest of the three waves of Ukrainian settlement occured between the years 1891-1914.


THE STAR COLONY ABOUT 1910
SHOWING UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS AND SOME POST OFFICES
RAILWAYS SHOWN FOR REFERENCE
EARLY POST OFFICES
SCHOOLS
EARLY TRAILS
MODERN COMMUNITIES
CHURCHES
RAILWAYS
N
MILES
0 2 4 6
Figure 3: The Bloc Settlement
(The Ten Municipalities)
576
575
545
547
546
513
514
515
516
484
VILNA
CACHE LAKE
SADDLE LAKE
NORTH SASKATCHEWAN
ELK ISLAND PARK
BEAVERHILL LAKE
LAMONT
MUNDARE
VEGREVILLE
SODA LAKE

Map 2: East Central Alberta. The Ukrainian bloc settlement of East Central Alberta generally stretched from Edmonton to the Saskatchewan border along the three railway lines paralleling the North Saskatchewan River. Adapted from ' The Bloc Settlement ' p. 34 and ' The Railroad Towns ' p. 48 in Orest Martynowych, " The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta 1890-1930 " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988).

THE WINTER HOLIDAYS IN ALBERTA

While the examination of *Rizdvo* involved a two phase approach (namely, discussions centering on the observances and preparations associated with *Pylypivka* and *Rizdvo/Novyi Rik/Iordan*), the examination of *Rizdvo* as observed by the First Generation of Ukrainian immigrants to East Central Alberta also neccessitates a two phase approach. The first phase centres on the preparations and practices observed prior to the establishment of a permanent church, as well as, a navigable road system within the homesteading areas. The second phase centres on the preparations and practices observed after the establishment of a permanent church (and other community institutions and services) and the completion of functional roadways. These phases are described and discussed in the following sections in terms of diet, social activity and the preparation for and participation in both religious and non-religious rituals and practices.

Rizdvo Observances: The Initial Homesteading Period

The discussion examining the initial homesteading period describes the period of time which stretches mostly from the time when the homesteaders (and their familes) initially set foot on their quarters of undeveloped land - to their regular attendance (or near regular attendance) at an established local church. This period usually (but not always) coincided with the establishment of a local public school, the construction of a local community and/or parish hall, as well as, the establishment of basic commercial and/or institutional services (such as a general store, post office, etc.), which could be reached via a hard-packed roadway.[1] For information with respect to the observances associated with *Rizdvo* during this initial period of homesteading by the first generation of First Wave Ukrainian immigrants to East Central Alberta, the experiences of the two informants who came as young children with their families to the Wostok and Mundare areas in 1897 and 1901 (respectively) are described.[2] These informants grew up in relative isolation under fairly primitive conditions for a number of years as the railway lines which eventually connected these communities to Edmonton were not completed until 1905 (Mundare) and 1930 (Wostok).[3] Further, the churches, schools, community halls, basic commercial services and roadways within these communities also were not developed for some 5 to 15 years after their arrival. As children, and as adolescents growing up in East Central Alberta, these informants did not have the opportunity, nor the ability, to fully participate in any of the religious, academic, social and/or commercial institutions which most of us take for granted today (although eventually, these facilities were established within their districts).[4] As a result of the rather primitive conditions of homesteading, these informants were raised in relative isolation without the benefits of an education, formalized religious guidance, and the conveniences associated with local purchasing power and/or government institutional access. Further, they did not have the ability to access these facilities (that is, even if there were any) because there were no local passable road links to get them there. Although many of these institutions were established within several years following the immigrants' arrival in East Central Alberta, the informants were unable to take advantage of them. This was partly due to the fact that by the time these facilities were available to them (particularly in the case of schools), the informants were older adolescents whose physical work contributions were required on the farm. Further, the fact that they were older adolescents, resulted in a lessening of the informants' interests in their childhood home activities - to their own independence, marriage, and the establishment of personal homesteads on the lands still available within the bloc settlement area.[1] For example:

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[1] For descriptions of the typical phases of development of farms, rural communities and local town settlements see Martynowych, Op. cit., and Radomir Bilash " Ukrainian Rural Communities in East Central Alberta Before 1930 " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 60-70.

[2] Mary Romaniuk arrived with her family in the Wostok area in 1897 when she was 7 years old. John Chillibecki arrived with his family in the Mundare area in 1901 when he was 8 years old.

[3] Martynowych, Op. cit., p. 34.

[4] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> " Vzhe iak treka zachela ity z Edmontonu, to vzhe tohdy trokhy zachevsy rukh. . .pobuduvaly shkolu. . .to vzhe iakohos' profesora buly znaishly . . .ale to lyshen' litom vin uchyv. . .I ia ne mav nahody ity, a potomu vzhe iak zachely troshky bil'she vchyty i zymov i litom, tai tato skazav zhe. . .' Z tebe popa ne bude! '. . .i tiehnuly korchi. . . tai take. . .taka moia skola bula! . . . korchuvav. . .i khodyv po robotakh! "[2]

> " When the [railway] track came from Edmonton, then progress began . . .a school was built. . .and they got a teacher. . .but he only taught during the summer. . .I didn't have the chance to go [to school], and later when they started to teach through the winter and summer, my father said: ' You will never be a priest! ' . . .and so, I continued to help my father clear land. . .that's how it was. . .that was my schooling! . . .I cleared land. . .and went away to work! "

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[1] See also Marie Lesoway, " Women in Three Households " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), p. 121.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

Further:

> " Nu. . .poklaly shkolu vzhe na tatovi farmi, ta moi dity vzhe maly de khodyty. . .IA vzhe sia viddala, koly nat' iedno chy dvoie ditei mala. . . To zh shkolu poklaly. . .A tak iak ia she divochyla, to ne bulo nihde nicho. Ne ishly. . .v pustyni. . .ani stezhky, ni dorohy. . ."[1]

> " Well. . .a school was built on my father's farm, and my children had a school to go to. . .I was married [by that time] and even had one or two children. . .when the school was built. . .But when I was a girl, there was no school. . .I didn't go. . .there was bush. . .no paths, no roads. . ."

These informants have remained within the Ukrainian settlement areas of East Central Alberta for most of their active, working lives. While they were personally unable to benefit from the institutions and services eventually established within their immediate communities (that is, while they were growing up), their children were fully able to take advantage of them (ie. school, church, community/parish hall, general store, post office, train service, hard-packed roads, etc.). As well, those immigrants who arrived in East Central Alberta towards the tail end of the first wave of settlement (just before the First World War), were also able to benefit from the institutions already established prior to their arrival. (The discussion examining the descriptions provided by these latter informants, as well as by the children of all of the homesteaders, is presented within the section " Rizdvo Observances: The Farming Period ").

It is hard to envision the difficulties and hardships which were experienced by the first Ukrainian settlers and their families during the initial homesteading period. There was literally nothing on their land when they arrived. All of the virgin parkland forest had to be cleared (first by hand, and then by oxen when financial circumstances improved to allow their purchase), and all of the buildings and neccessary amenities had to be built (ie. house, outhouse, well, barn, granary, pens, coops, etc.). The immensity of the tasks combined with the near hopelessness of their situation can best be summarized by the following:

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

> " To de buv Vegreville?! . . .A to de buv Lamont?. . .abo de to bulo to to. . . treka iakas' abo shos'! Nicho ne bulo! Nicho. . .tak pushchi i vzhe. . .ie. . . Nikoho. . .ni liudei. . .nikoho! . . .Pustynia bula. . .IEden buv Edmonton! To vs'o. . .to vs'o. . ."[1]

> " Where was Vegreville? . . .Where was Lamont? . . .or a. . . [railway] track of any kind! There was nothing! Nothing. . .but bush. . .and. . . no one. . .no people. . .no one! It was wilderness. . .There was only Edmonton! That was all. . .that was all. . ."

or:

> " IAki buly pershi roky v Kanadi. . .Doshchi padaly, treky ne bulo, dorih ne bulo. . .nichoho ne bulo. . .kaiuty buly, medvedi buly. . .i tak muchelysy tiehnuty korchi. . .tak perezhyvaly. Treka pishla azh pislia p'ietoho roku. . .a my pryikhaly pershoho. . . "[2]

> " Those first years in Canada. . .It rained. . .no [railway] track. . .no roads. . .There was nothing. . .except for the coyotes and bears. . .and how we toiled pulling stumps. . .what we lived through. The track came through in 1905. . .but we arrived in 1901. . ."

When these homesteading families arrived, their chief concern was survival within this inhospitable environment - plain and simple. The ability to earn a decent living from farming, or for that matter, to prepare for and participate in esoteric folk cultural observances, pastimes and practices, entered into a family's lifestyle only after their basic needs for survival were met.[1] First, they had to make sure they had a roof over their heads. Second, they they had to make sure they had enough food to eat. Third, they had to fulfil the legal conditions of their land claims. Concurrently, they had to earn some capital to be able to buy the neccessary tools, implements, animals and domestic items needed to help realize the the first three concerns. And finally, they could observe and/ or establish their Ukrainian heritage in the Alberta wilderness - when time and/or circumstances permitted. Ukrainian culture (be it folk, fine arts, religious, educational, etc.) and its observance, was constrained by the requirements of physical, financial and legal survival during the harsh and often unforgiving early years of homesteading on the Western Canadian Prairie.*

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer. This is confirmed in the Romaniuk family history in Holden and District Historical Society, Hemstitches and Hackamores (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1984), p. 624.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

The first requirement for the homesteaders was to provide shelter for themselves and for their families. Initially, a dugout was made, either in the ground or into the side of a hill, which was then covered with a rudimentary roof framed from cut logs and branches and covered with sod.[2] Once this shelter was built, (thereby providing some protection for the family from the elements), a second more permanent structure was erected above ground utilizing the traditional method(s) of construction to recreate the old country " khata " left behind.[1] For example:

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[1] See Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) Vol. I (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1973) for an account of Ukrainian pioneering life in East Central Alberta.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

[2] Both informants described this type of in-ground shelter. John Chillibecki referred to it as a " burdei " (literally - an earthen hut) while Mary Romaniuk referred to it as a " kucha " (literally - a covered coop). Both terms indicate its primitive nature. For a discussion on these first homesteading shelters, see Andriy Nahachewsky " The First Imprint: The *Burdei* in the Wilderness " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 78-86.

> " Nu. . .vykopaly iamu na cam pered. . .i nakryly tak vo zemlev, i tak my zalazyly do toi iamy. . .i tam perebuvaly v tii iami. IAk doshchi pishly to nateklo, tai my tak khovalysia iak mohly shoby sukho bulo. Potim poklaly khatu. Tiehly take plechyma. . .Khto mav konei! . . .Ne bulo. . . Khudoby ne bulo. . . Nicho ne bulo! Tato z mamov tiehnuly derevo, tai zbuduvaly taku khatynu, tai tak ponakryvaly, tai tak sydily. . . Zbuduvaly pershu iakubut' aby ne v zemly sydity. A potomu, chym raz, to vzhe dobudovuvaly sobi lipshe. U tii druhii khati, vzhe iak na. . .v pershii. . .to tak sydily mozhe rik. I potomu pobuduvaly lipshoho, lipshi budynky. "[2]

> " Well. . .first, a pit was dug into the ground, which was then covered with earth. . .and we crawled into that pit. . .and had to live in that pit. When it rained it used to drip through [the roof] and we used to try to hide ourselves to keep dry. Then a house was built. It was back-breaking work. . .Who had horses?. . .There weren't any. . .There was no livestock. . .There was nothing! Father and mother dragged the logs themselves and built a little house, put a roof on it, and we moved into it. . .The first house was built simply and quickly so that we could get out of that pit. Later, better ones were built. In that second house, on the ground. . .that first one. . .we lived in that for about a year. Then a better house was built, and better buildings. "

Further:

> " Vony maly taku budu, taku ' kuchu ' skazaty. . .takyi horb. . .a v tim horbi vykopana diura taka, i to iakos' to vyrobyly na iakus' taku khatu . . .taku kuchu nu! To my tam sydily. Tam vo take luzhko bulo take z patykiv zbyte. . .tak shcho tam tato spaly. A ia na p'iets spala bo ne bulo de! . . . Doshch v Edmontoni, a my vzhe znaly. . .bo voda tekla

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[1] For a detailed description of the traditional homes first built by Ukrainians in East Central Alberta, see John Lehr, Ukrainian Vernacular Architecture in Alberta (Province of Alberta Historic Sites Service Occasional Paper No. 1, 1976).

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

cherez tu zemliu. . .teche voda! Mama z pid parasoliu v khati! V khati khovaly shmattia bo ne maly de vykhovaty. . .teche na holovu, na pechi teche. . .Try roky tak sydily. . .Azh pryikhav z Havaiu brat. . .tai vzhe kupyv nam korovu (a my try roky moloka nemaly v khati). . .kupyv dva byky do roboty taki. . .(ta vzhe brat desho zarobyv tai sy kupyv tam do khaty desho). . .todi vzhe stalo lekshe. Brat hospodarku zrobyv . . .tato vzhe buly stari. . . "[1]

" They had this shed, a coop really. . .it was a hill, and a hole was dug into that hill, and somehow it was made into a type of house. . .well, a coop! We lived in that [coop]. Inside, there was a bed made of branches. . . and that's where father slept. I slept on the stove because there was no room anywhere else! . . .When it rained in Edmonton, we already knew because the water dripped through the sod roof! Mother would be under an umbrella in the house! We used to hide the clothes so that they would keep dry. . .water dripped on our heads, on the stove. . . Three years we lived like that. When my brother came from Hawaii . . .and bought us a cow (three years we lived without milk in the house). . .and bought two oxen. . .(my brother had earned quite a bit and was able to buy a number of things for the house). . .then it became easier. My brother built the farm. . .my father was already old. "

The second requirement for the homesteaders was to provide food for themselves and for their families. This was accomplished in a number of ways. Neccessary provisions could have been purchased. However, this usually involved the purchase of the number of sacks of flour that the family could only just afford.[2] Next, the family's food could have been taken from the bounty of the land: from natural harvesting (ie. berries, mushrooms, certain roots and/or herbs for tea, etc.); from the immediate cultivation of a family garden on the first cleared bit of land - depending on the weather and the time of year that the family arrived (with seeds either brought over from the old country, purchased in

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Canada, or given to them by a generous neighbour), and/or from the trapping and hunting of local game (ie. rabbits, ducks, geese, deer, etc.). Additionally, a family's food could have also been bartered from their nearest neighbour(s) in exchange for labour.[1] Typically, a family relied on all of these methods to ensure their food supply through the initial homesteading period.[2] In time, each family established their own farm garden, grew enough grain for their own use, and was able to purchase a few domestic animals (ie. a cow for milk and dairy products, hogs for pork, poultry for meat and eggs, etc.) to be able to maintain its own regular food supply.

The third requirement for the homesteaders was to fulfil the legal conditions enabling them to confirm ownership of their land claims. This was accomplished with stubborn determination and back-breaking labour to clear the land. Depending on the family's finances at the time of their arrival in East Central Alberta, land clearing was accomplished with or without oxen to help pull stumps and haul away logs. Every able-bodied member of the family laboured at this task.[3] While the children gathered sticks, small roots and stones, the adults chopped down trees, hauled them away (for use as building material and/or as firewood), and drove the team of oxen to either pull stumps or resurrect large rocks (that is, if they had oxen). To make the land theirs, each homesteader had to clear thirty acres and also had to had to bring that cleared acreage under cultivation.[1]

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] The Faryna family history in Holden and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 307 states that during their first winter in East Central Alberta (1903-4) food consisted primarily of potatoes harvested from their rudimentary garden, wild duck and rabbit.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1.

While the afore-mentioned aspects of homesteading were being addressed during the first few years in East Central Alberta, capital had to be earned concurrently, so that the homesteaders would be able to buy the neccessary tools, implements, animals and domestic items required to supplement and hasten the homesteading process. As well, those same improvements eased the difficulties and harshness of homesteading by progressively making the ordeal less physically and mentally exhausting. The requirement for cash was primarily resolved by members of the household hiring themselves out as labourers. Usually, it was the men within a family who hired themselves out to wealthier farmers, worked on the extra gangs for the rail lines and road systems being built throughout the province, and/or went off to the lumber camps and mines for seasonal work.[2] In addition, the women, who were left on the farm to develop the acreage and care for the children, often hired themselves out to their nearest neighbour(s) on a daily basis (to weed, clear light brush, etc.) in exchange for an immediate food item (ie. a chicken, a bushel of potatoes, sheaves of wheat, etc.).[3]

It was only after the basic needs for survival were attended to, that a family could direct its attention towards the preparation, observance and/or practice of their Ukrainian customs and traditions.[1] As a result, the establishment (or re-establishment) of one's Ukrainian heritage in Canada was constrained by what was reasonable and practical to observe given the difficult circumstances (ie. physical, financial and legal) of homesteading, as well as, its perceived neccessity within the family's lifestyle. Predictably, some Ukrainian winter holiday practices, beliefs, rituals and/or customs were eliminated from a family's cultural repertoire because the families either did not have the time or finances to observe them, or the observances themselves were not appropriate within the homesteading environment of East Central Alberta (or both). On the other hand, many observances were re-established, while others were modified to suit a family's existing circumstances.

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Martynowych, Op. cit., p. 54.
[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.
[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1.

Pylypivka

In Chortkiv and Sniatyn (as previously indicated), *Pylypivka* was a six week church ordained preparatory period immediately preceeding *Rizdvo* , which was noted for the observance of specific dietary restrictions on certain days of the week, as well as, community-wide abstention from public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivals (namely weddings). In East Central Alberta during the initial period of homesteading, *Pylypivka* , with its constraints on diet and socializing, became the actual day to day lifestyle of the new inhabitants throughout most of the course of the year. This situation existed due to the fact that the living conditions and circumstances which defined and constrained *Pylypivka* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, were not only recreated by the homesteading environment in the Western Canadian wilderness, but in many instances were heightened. However, whereas the church in combination with the generalized poverty of the villagers determined the appropriateness of diet and the form of participation in various social activities throughout *Pylypivka* in the old country, in East Central Alberta, the constraints of poverty combined with the isolation experienced by the typical homesteader, primarily determined the appropriateness, indeed the practicality, of chosen diets and/or the ability to socialize at all.

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[1] See " Sviatyi Vechir na Osytsi " (*Sviatyi Vechir* in the Wilderness) in J.B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vol. II (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1958), pp. 349-355 for a Ukrainian pioneer's recollection of being stranded in the Saskatchewan wilderness over the Christmas *sviata* enroute to his homestead from the flour mill.

In Alberta, *Pylypivka* was also simply referred to as " Pist ".* Whereas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn this period coincided with the onset of the winter season, in East Central Alberta winter had already set in.** As a result, the preparations which would have been attended to in the old country with respect to readying one's household, farm holdings, livestock, crops and produce for the winter would have already been completed in the early fall immediately following the family's first harvests on the homestead. Essentially, the only activities which would have been participated in during *Pylypivka* during the initial period of homesteading, included those day to day chores associated with the maintenance of livestock (ie. feeding, milking, the routine cleaning and bedding of stalls, making of chop or " sichka ", gathering eggs, etc.); equipment repairs; the cutting of firewood for domestic use; the maintenance of a home (ie. food preparation, cleaning, laundering, clothing/ linen repairs, etc.); and, the raising of a family.*

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*All of the informants mentioned this nomenclature.

**One of the biggest impacts on all of the immigrants was the severity and length of the winter season in Alberta (following closely behind the lack of any kind of developments on their property or within their communities, and, the distance between neighbouring homesteads). In Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the winter season began in December and ended in February, whereas In Alberta, it began in October and ended in April.

Dietary Restrictions

If the typical diet in Galicia at the turn of this century was impoverished, the first few years in Canada were not much of an improvement, and were often worse (depending on the family's financial circumstances upon their arrival). For the informants, *Pylypivka* during the homesteading period meant complete abstention from meat (including poultry), meat products (including fats), eggs and dairy products - not because of religious doctrine, but as a direct result of the impoverished conditions of the homesteading experience. More importantly, these dietary restrictions (as previously mentioned) were not specifically confined to *Pylypivka* , but existed generally through the entire winter period - corresponding directly to the family's stored and/or purchased food reserves. As a result, in Canada, during the initial period of homesteading, the typical family diet consisted of whatever could have been harvested and/or stored within a family's grain and produce reserves, whatever could have been obtained through purchases and/or barter, as well as, whatever could have been taken from the local forest.[1] Predictably, the composition of the family's diet varied from season to season, as well as, from year to year. While in Canada, the diet remained primarily vegetarian during *Pylypivka* (as previously described in the section " Dietary Restrictions " in Chapter Two), the restrictions, especially those which pertained to the consumption of fish and/or game on certain days of the week, were ignored.* It follows, that when one of the main concerns for a family was physical survival itself, the perceived luxury of adhering to a pre-ordained notion of a selective, planned diet during specific times of the year was an unreasonable, indeed ludicrous, consideration - particularly when they did not even have the assurance of a regular food supply.

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*All of the informants remarked on the relative boredom of the winter period in Canada due to the fact that they had to stay indoors and were primarily limited to their own homesteads (due to the length of winter, the severity of the weather, and the distance between homesteads).

Social Activities/General Activities

While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn the observance of community-wide abstention from public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivals during *Pylypivka* brought regular family and neighbourly socializing indoors, in East Central Alberta during the initial period of homesteading, regular participation at indoor socials did not exist. This was primarily due to the distances between homesteads combined with the wooded terrains which would have had to have been traversed, as well as, the severity of weather during that time of year. The lack of equipment for travel (ie. no sleighs and/or horses) via non-existant roads also contributed to the homesteaders' isolation through *Pylypivka* (indeed, throughout the entire winter season).*

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[1] Kyriak, Op. cit., p. 342 describes that a garden was planted on the first available cleared portion of land on a family's homestead. The vegetables which were cultivated included potatoes, carrots, cabbage, parsley, peas, various varieties of beans, beets, onions, garlic, and cucumbers. As well, poppies were cultivated for their seeds, and sunflowers and hemp were cultivated for cooking oil (ie. *olii*).

*All of the informants mentioned this practice of ignoring the fasting rules of diet in the early years of homesteading.

With respect to the various winterizing activities associated with the preparation of one's household for the winter in the old country (ie. repairing and patching the family home and farm buildings, grounds-keeping, equipment storage and repair, food preparation, clothing and domestic linens manufacture, spinning, feather tearing, etc.), on the homestead, many of these activities would have already been completed prior to the commencement of *Pylypivka* (due to the early onset of winter in Alberta), while many others simply were not participated in as there were no means to either host or provide materials for the indoor *toloky* .[1] Further, the severe winter weather, the distances between homesteads and the general lack of transportation means also tempered the spontaneity of neighbourly visits which could have occured if time and/or circumstances permitted. Families were indeed left alone to battle the conditions of those early years, and at no time was it more keenly felt than during the winter period. Since there were no community and/or parish halls in the homesteading areas during the initial few years, there were no gatherings, meetings, functions, sessions or drop-ins to round out the community's slate of events as there had been in

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*All of the informants emphasized the fact that the first few years in Alberta were quite lonely due to the geographic and climatic realities of homesteading on the virgin woodland prairie.

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Chortkiv and Sniatyn. And finally, because there was no organized house to house *koliaduvannia* during the Christmas *sviata* through the initial period of Ukrainian settlement in East Central Alberta, there was no requirement for the preparation of either the neccessary props or the learning of *koliady* , which in the old country, would have taken place during *Pylypivka* .[1]

Feast Days

Feast days during *Pylypivka* (namely St. Andrew's Day, St. Nicholas' Day, St. Barbara's Day and St. Anne's Day) were celebrated either as Sundays or as namedays[2] in East Central Alberta. While in the old country namedays were typically celebrated by the gathering of well meaning family and friends at the individual's home, in Canada, during the early period of homesteading, these events were typically spent as private nuclear family observances celebrated in much the same manner as a family today would over a special Sunday evening meal at home.*

With respect to the observance of religious feast days during *Pylypivka* (that is, when remembered as a *sviato* when glancing at the calendar), they were observed essentially like Sundays, in that, while there was no attendance at mass (due to the fact that there was no church to go to), they were spent as days of rest where no serious work was performed except for daily chores. Further, the celebration of church patron saint feast days known as " praznyks " (which were popular religious and social events in the old country) was impossible during the early years of settlement in rural East Central Alberta due to the complete absence of Ukrainian church facilities and/or clergy among the first Ukrainian settlers.[1] This lack of priests and church facilities was keenly felt:

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.
[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.
*All of the informants mentioned this.

> " Kolys', kolys' duzhe treba dovho na sviashchennyka chekaty. . .ne bulo sviashchennykiv, a shchei nemaly kuda pereiikhaty. . .voda. . .ta to iakyms' kalatkamy, patykamy ishly. . .patyk v ruky tai perekhodyv cherez vodu! To vsiliako bulo. To tak [takozh bulo] koly pryvezut', tohdy buv. . .pryishov rano, vidpravyv, vidvezly znov do ' Mundare ", tai vzhe znov chekai tsilyi rik na neho! Tam do khaty vpered pryiizdyv . . . chutky. . .a tak vziely poklaly z dereva iakus' tserkvu, vzhe potomu do toi tserkovtsiu pryiizdyv. . .A to chekai chasom z rik abo sho nema . . . A my sia skhodyly tak. . .pryidymo tam, vtvoremo tserkvu, pomolymosia, tai pishly. "[2]

> " A long time ago, you had to wait a long, long time for a priest. . .there were no priests, and there was no place for them to cross the river. . .so they used to travel with these walking sticks. . .they carried a stick in hand and used to ford across the river! There were all kinds of circumstances. There were also the times when he was brought to serve a mass. . .he came in the morning, said mass, and was driven back to Mundare. . .and then you had to wait another year for him! At first, they held services in homes. . .you found out about them by word of mouth. . .then eventually a little log church was built, and services were

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[1] The first religious service conducted by a Ukrainian Catholic priest for the Ukrainian homesteaders East Central Alberta took place in 1897 - a full 5 years after the first Ukrainians arrived in the bloc settlement area. The second service was performed in 1898, and the third in 1901. It was not until 1902 - 10 years after the arrival of the first Ukrainian families - that the first permanent clerics (the Basilian Fathers) arrived in the Beaver Lake area (now Mundare) and established a bonafide religious presence among the Ukrainian settlers. From their centre in Mundare, they ministered eastward to Lloydminister (109 miles), westward to Fisher (42 miles), north to Elk Point (123 miles) and south to Borshchiw (18 miles). For further information on the history of the Ukrainian Catholic church in Alberta (and Canada) see Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada (University of Manitoba: MA Thesis, 1948).

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

held in that little church. . .Many times you had to wait about a year between visits [services]. . .[but] we used to gather there anyway. . . we'd come, open the church, pray, and then go. "

Further:

" Ne bulo. . .ne bulo kuda ity i ne bulo chym ity. To ne bulo ani dorohy ani tserkvy. De bula tserkva? Pokhodyly zrazu po khatakh. . .iakyis' ' Feliks ' buv pryikhav. . .pershyi sviashchennyk. . .tsy iak to iomu bulo . . .Ta nas khtos, iak mav vzhe troshka bil'shu khatu, to tam chesom skhodylysia. . .a to kil'ko tykh susidiv bulo? A chym raz pidbudovuvaly . . .Nu, tai potomu pobuduvaly tserkvu. . .A vzhe iak pobuduvaly tserkvu z logiv (taku iak khatu), tai tam skhodyly. "[1]

" There was nothing. . .there was no place to go and there was no way of getting there. There were no roads and there was no church. Where was the church? At first there used to be services in people's homes. . . the first priest who came, I believe his name was ' Feliks '. . .Those of us who had larger homes hosted the services. . .but how many of those [neighbours] were there? As the community grew. . .Well, eventually a church was built. . .When they built a church out of logs (just like a house), then we gathered there. "

The spontaneous socials which were associated with the observance of St. Andrew's Day, as well as, the community sponsored events associated with the celebration of St. Nicholas's Day in Chortkiv and Sniatyn - also fell by the wayside in East Central Alberta during the initial period of homesteading.[2] Again, the reasons for their elimination were obvious. There simply was no organized local social network within the new communities at that time. As well, there were no established formalized religious, educational and/or community institutions. For that matter, there also were no private or public facilities which could have hosted these events. In addition, the physical geography separating the homesteads also worked against the settlers' attempts to participate in either spontaneous or organized community socials.[1] For example:

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #3. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] This is also noted by Lesoway, Op. cit., p. 120. The distances between farms combined with the cold weather experienced in December in Alberta prohibited such practice. Roman Onufrijchuk, " Immigration and Organized Forgetting " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 5-6 provides insight with respect to the isolation experienced by the Ukrainian homesteaders and the effect it had on the ability to maintain certain aspects of socially transmitted cultural observances. Leisure, which in the village setting of Western Ukraine at the turn of this century was primarily social, provided the opportunity during which oral traditions were transmitted from those who " knew " to those who did not. On the homesteads, leisure became an activity primarily restricted to the immediate family. For a

> " . . .Vechornytsi? Ta tre liudei do toho, a tam khto buv? Tam vzhe shos' tykh paro susidiv, tykh dva shcho naiblyshchi buly. . .kazhda v khati sydila. . .Ta de bulo ity? Do koho? Ta ne bulo cheliady, tai do koho bulo ity?. . .Ta des' v kraiu kav sho to iakes' Andreia sviatkuvaly. . .a ia ne pamiataiu, ne znaiu. . .To vzhe ia vid starykh chuiu. . ."[2]

> " . . .Evening socials? You need people for those, and who was there? There were those few neighbours, those two who would have been the closest. . .and each stayed in their own house. . .Where was one to go? To whom? There were no children, so where was I to go?. . .I was told that they used to celebrate some sort of *Andreia* . . .but I don't remember it, I don't know. . .I heard it from the older folk. . ."

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discussion on the roles of elders, the church and the larger village community in the transmission and maintenance of a traditional peasant lifestyle and culture see Kasimierz Dobrowolski, " Peasant Traditional Culture " in Teodor Shanin, ed., Peasants and Peasant Societies (Markham: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 277-298.

[1] Kyriak, Op. cit., pp. 234-5 mentions that rudimentary *Andreia* celebrations were observed among the immediate neighbours where marriageable young men and women lived. 11 activities are described.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interviews #4 and #6. Freely translated by the writer. Halyna Muchin, The Evolution of the Ukrainian Family and its Portrayal in Illia Kyriak's Novel Sons of the Soil (University of Manitoba: MA Thesis, 1978), pp. 57-8 also describes this general void felt by Ukrainian pioneers for their familiar old country observances and practices.

Rizdvo

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the observance of *Rizdvo* in East Central Alberta encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period.* First, came the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of Christmas Eve or " Sviatyi Vechir ". Second, came the observances and celebrations associated with the three feast days of *Rizdvo* (proper), Boxing Day or " Zbory ", and the Feast of Stephen or " Stefana ". These are described and discussed following.[1]

Sviatyi Vechir

While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* were the culmination of all of the domestic activities within an individual household during *Pylypivka* , in East Central Alberta, they became simply the specific preparations requiring completion immediately before Christmas Eve so that *Sviatyi Vechir* [2] (and the beginning of the winter holiday season) could be observed.** As in the old country, these immediate preparations began approximately two to three days before *Sviatyi Vechir* , however, in Canada, their identification coinciding with the feast day of *Anna Zachatii* was lost. The preparations and activities prior to

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*All of the informants continued to celebrate Christmas on the 7th of January in accordance to the Julian Calendar after their arrival to East Central Alberta.

[1] See also " Ukrains'ke Rizdvo v Kanadi " (Ukrainian Christmas in Canada) in J.B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vol. I (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1956), pp. 44-45 for a similar account of *Rizdvo* preparations and observances within the Manitoba bloc settlement area.

[2] See also Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 268-275 for another description of the typical preparations and celebrations observed by a family prior to and through *Sviatyi Vechir* .

**All of the informants mentioned this.

Sviatyi Vechir ensured that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the three and half day holiday period which stretched from dusk on Christmas Eve, through Christmas Day, Boxing Day, and ended with the the Feast of St. Stephen:

> " Chy robyly? No. . .bo to Sviatyi Vechir, to vzhe Rizdvo. . .A Sviatyi Vechir to budnyi den'. . .lahodyly iisty. . .khata pochyshchena. . .robota na dvori mala buty skinchena. . .shchoby hotove bulo na svieta! [Todi] . . . peresviatkuvaly, tai po vsemu! Chikho, tykho. . . "[1]

> " Did one work? No. . .because it was *Sviatyi Vechir* , it was Christmas. . . But [the daytime period of] *Sviatyi Vechir* was not a holiday. . .so the food had to be prepared. . .the house had to be cleaned. . .all of the outdoor work had to be finished. . .so that everything would be ready for the holidays!. . .[Then] the holidays were observed, and that was that! Quietly, peacefully. . . "

For the men in a family, preparing for *Sviatyi Vechir* meant that all of the heavy labour out of doors had to be completed. Their activities included those connected with either the care of livestock and/or the provisioning of the neccessary heating and cooking fuels for their household. For the women in a family, preparing for *Rizdvo* meant that all of the heavy labour indoors had to be completed. Their activities included those connected with either housecleaning and/or the preparation and cooking of all the neccessary foodstuffs and dishes for their household to be consumed on *Sviatyi Vechir* , as well as, through the three days of *Rizdvo* . As a result, the three and a half days of *sviata* were prepared for, and subsequently spent, as a series of Sundays (ie. observed and spent as a series of days of rest).* Amidst all of these preparations, if a family had its own hog, it could have also slaughtered it prior to *Rizdvo* (indeed prior to *Pylypivka* , because the meat could have been frozen until needed for cooking).* If a hog was slaughtered, the same types and variety of pork products were made as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (and as previously described in the section " Sviatyi Vechir " in Chapter Two). The meat products produced could have included *Shynka* , *Kobasa* , *Sal'tseson* (*Mats'ok*), *Studenets* (*Hyshky*), and *Kyshky*. In Alberta, these meat dishes were served in the same manner as they would have been in the old country.

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants commented as to how the *sviata* , that is any *sviata* , were meant to be spent.

Just as the meat products which were to be consumed during the three days of *Rizevo* were prepared just before *Sviatyi Vechir* , so too, were the dishes and foodstuffs which were to be consumed during the *Sviata Vechera* . As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, all of the dishes which were prepared for the *Sviatyi Vechir* evening meal were meatless and milkless because of the fact that *Sviatyi Vechir* fell on the last day of *Pylypivka* . Similarly, given the dietary constraints during the first few years in Canada, while each family was aware of the requirement for twelve different dishes on the table for this special evening meal, each family prepared the number and types of dishes that it was able to afford:[1] For example:

> " Nu, to taka vechera bula ne zvychaina. . .bo taka postanova bula, kil'ko ia rosumiiu, sho mama mala nalahodyty dvanaitsiet' strav. "[2]

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*All of the informants discovered the potentials of freezing meat rather early in the winter season for future use. Typically, butchered pieces were stored in the granary.

[1] See also Lesoway, Op. cit., p. 123.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

" Well, it was a supper out of the ordinary. . .because there was a prescribed practice, in as much as I understand it, that mother was supposed to prepare twelve dishes. "

Further:

" Mama, to varyla sho mohla. . .spekla holubtsiv z iachmeniu. . .pyrohy robyla z baraboliu. . .huby zvaryla. . .pshenytsiu a makom naterly i tam posypaly tsukrom. . .ryba (iak bula). . .khlib. . .harbata z rumianku. . . tai. . .to til'ko toi iidy? Moi mama to ne vviruvaly dvanadtsiet' strav. Deiaki kazaly sho robyly, a my nie. Ot tam sho to ziily, tai to vo. . ."[1]

" Mother prepared whatever she was able to prepare. . .baked *holubtsi* (with barley filling). . .made *pyrohy* (with potatoe filling). . .boiled mushrooms. . .wheat with ground poppy seeds and sugar [ie. *kutia*]. . . fish (when there was some). . .bread. . .chamomile tea. . .well. . .how much was she expected to prepare? My mother didn't believe in preparing twelve dishes. Others have said that they prepared that many, but we didn't. We ate what we had, and that was that. . ."

As a result, most homemakers in the early years of settlement did not prepare the luxurious amount of food that twelve dishes would have represented. The dishes which were prepared included: *kutia* (the staple), *holubsti* , *pyrohy* , mushrooms, fish, *kolach* and/or bread. The remainder of dishes which could have been prepared included: *borshcht* , sauerkraut, beans, peas, beets, root vegetables, *sushenie* , sweets, tea and/or alchohol. These latter extra dishes were prepared only as each family's circumstances permitted:

" A iak she bula de chelied', to varyly bahato des' shos' take vo. . .a tak iak ia bula v mamy, nu to sho. . .nas dvoie, chy troie, tai sho budut' navaruvaly. . .O, tak iak ieho mama [cholovikova], nu to mozhe bahato varyly bo tam dityskiv buly bahato. "[2]

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

> " Where there were a lot of children, then a lot had to be cooked. . .but for us, when I was still with my mother, well what. . .there were only the two, or three of us, so how much can you prepare?. . .Now his mother [her husband's], she prepared a lot because she had a lot of children. "

The number of ingredients also could have determined the number of dishes and/or foodstuffs prepared:

> " To tak rakhuvaly tak. . .sho pshenytsia, to bula pshenytsia i buv mak - a tse vzhe ie dvi stravy! Tse ne ie odna strava. . .Bo to dvanadtsiat' [okremykh] strav narykhtuvaty, to to treba podumaty sho narykhtuvaty! . . .bula pshenytsia z medom (iak bula) abo z tsukrom . . . buly pyrohy (z slyvkamy, z kapustov, z baraboleiu). . .holubtsi (z ryzhom). . .pletenyi kolach. . .hryby. . .ryba (iak bula). . .horodyna (iaka bula). "[1]

> " Well, the dishes were counted this way. . .[for example] the *kutia* , was wheat and poppy seeds, and that's two dishes! Not one dish. . .Because to prepare twelve [separate] dishes would have been a lot to prepare! . . .there was *kutia* with honey (when there was honey) or with sugar . . .*pyrohy* (with plums, sauerkraut, potatoe). . .*holubtsi* (with rice) . . .a braided *kolach* . . .mushrooms. . .fish (when there was some). . . and vegetables (when available). "

All of the dishes which were prepared for the *Sviata Vechera* (as well as the dishes which were prepared for the three days of *Rizdvo*) were prepared in the same manner as they would have been in the old country, however, the excitement and anticipation normally leading up to and surrounding the event in Canada - was lost:[2]

> " . . .rekhtuvaty? Ta koly. . .nyni vo spekla holubtsi na zavtra! Tai vzhe take rekhtovannia. . .to sho bulo rekhtuvaty! Mama poklaly vecheru, tai smo vsi posidaly, tai sho pomolylysia. . .povecheraly, tai reshta. . .sho tam. . ."

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

" . . .preparations? When. . .today you baked *holubtsi* for tomorrow! And there you have your preparations. . .what was there to prepare?! Mother prepared the supper, and we all sat down, and we prayed. . .and ate, and the rest. . .what was there. . ."

Further:

" Ot buv pryznachenyi den' koly toi, skazaty Rizdvianyi. . .Vechera ta mala buty, nu, to mama rekhtuvala se. . .Narekhtuvala tam vecheru, i my vsi skhodylyse tam u vechori. . .V vechori. . .faino pomolylyse i sidaly kolo stola i vsi razom, tato pomolylyse i my povecherily. . . i tak. "[1]

" It was a specific day, meaning Christmas Eve. . .There had to be a supper, and mother prepared that. . .She prepared the supper and we all gathered [for that supper] in the evening. . .On that evening. . .we prayed and then sat around the table all together, father led the prayer and then we ate. . .That was it. "

Just as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Sviatyi Vechir* in East Central Alberta was spent as a fasting day. Similarly, not everyone in a family fasted. Children up to approximately fourteen years of age were excluded from fasting because it was deemed by their parents that their little bodies could not and should not have to tolerate a fast. Older adolescents and adult members of the family on the other hand, did fast. Fasting on the homestead either meant complete abstention from all food and drink for the entire day or the allowance of drinking water, coffee and/or tea only during the day (depending on the family's resources at the time). Fasting ended with the approach of dusk.[2] For example:

" Yes. . .postyly. . .rano ne snidaly, tai tak pozaprietuvaly faino kolo khativ i take druhe, tai mama zrekhtuvaly to. . .Vzhe des' druha, treta

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> hodyna, ne chekaly azh do temnoi nochi shoby vecheriaty, bo to za bahato bulo! "[1]

> " Yes. . .we fasted. . .in the morning breakfast was skipped, and during the day all of the preparations in and about the house were completed, as well as some others, and mother prepared the meal. . .So that about two or three in the afternoon [we ate]. . .We didn't wait until it was pitch black outside in order to eat. . .That would have been too much! "

As dusk approached, everyone in the family eagerly awaited father and the boys to bring and arrange a sheaf of grain, some hay, as well as some straw into the house. For example:

> " . . .vzhe porobyly tato na dvori, tam kolo khudoby, chy sho, tai pryishly do khaty, tai vzhe vecheraly. . .IAk prynesly solomu, vo, do khaty, tai take. . .znaly sho svieta!. . . Poklaly na pidlohu, ta smo kachylysia tam po pidlozi po ti solomi. . .a kapku sina klaly pid obrusom. . .bahato ne hoden bo myska sia pereverne. . .a tam troshky potrishut'. . ."[2]

> " . . .father finished his outdoor work, attending to the livestock, or whatever, so when he came into the house, then we all sat down to eat. . . When the straw was brought into the house, and the other items. . .then we knew that it was the holidays!. . .They spread it over the floor, and we used to roll around in that straw on the floor. . .and a bit of hay was placed under the tablecloth. . .you couldn't put a lot because a bowl could tip over. . .so only a bit was strewn. . ."

Further:

> " Stelyly troshky sina abo na stil, abo tam pid stil i tak to klaly taku. . . skatert'. . .zastelyly to. . .I tohdy klaly stravy na to. . .i tak my vecherely."[3]

> " Some hay was strewn on the table, or there under the table, and then a . . .tablecloth. . .was placed over it [the hay]. . .And then the food was placed on [the table]. . .and then we ate. "

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interviews #4 and #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

These items were brought into the house as symbols representing the birth of Christ, just as they did in the old country. In fact, bringing them into the house literally meant that the holidays were about to begin.* The nomenclature for these symbolic items changed somewhat in Canada (although the reasons for these changes were not known). The sheaf became simply known as a " did-snip "[1], while the straw and/ or the hay strewn either on the table or over the floor became collectively known as a " diduch ".[2] Metal items were still placed in the straw and every member of the family was encouraged to touch their feet against those metal objects (which was usually a hand-axe[3]). This practice was performed because it was believed that by touching metal on *Sviatyi Vechir* one strengthened and protected the lower limbs from pain and/or any serious affliction in the following year. The practice of clucking like brooding hens however, did not carry over to the homestead. This may understandably be due to the fact that most families did not have any significant number of hens (much less broods of hens) until much later in their homesteading experience in the Western Prairie.* The placement of the sheaf, hay and straw within a house was identical to the placement in the old country (that is, the sheaf was placed in the *pokuttia* , and the straw and/or hay was placed under the dining table and benches, as well as, under the table cloth):

> " Ta vo solomy prynesut'. . .a tam snip pshenytsi pokladut v kutok, a tu solomu nanesut' abo sina. . .tai takyi didukh. . .A po svietakh vzhe

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6, and, John Chillebecki, Interview #1.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interviews #4 and #6.

*All of the informants mentioned that building up the farm took a number of years.

vynosiet', tretyi den' na dvir, zapaliet', tai to vzhe pereskakuiut'. . .aby des' shos' po nohakh ne chipalosia! . . .A snip stoiav v kuti do Novoho Roku. . .Tai v take viruvaly iakes' she des' v kraiu, tai tut take poklaly. "[1]

" Well the straw was brought in. . .and a sheaf of wheat was placed in the corner, and the straw was brought indoors, or some hay. . .and you have a *didukh* . . .And after the holidays, it [the *didukh*] was taken outdoors on the third day and was burned. . .and you could jump over the flames . . .to protect your lower limbs from pain and/or disease [in the upcoming year]. . .The sheaf stood in the corner until the new year. . . There was a belief in those practices back in the old country, and so, they were observed here. "

The bringing in of the *did-snip* and *didukh* signalled to everyone within the family that the hard work for the day was nearly over and that the *sviata* were about to begin. Everyone washed-up and changed into their holiday attire:

" To tak iak pry vechery to vsi zbyraly se tak iak by, ot, ity do tserkvy . . .to zbyrav inakshu odizh i tak samo do vecheri vzhe. . .IAk mama mala to vs'o hotove, tai tohdy my vsi perebyralyse. . .Tak sidaly navkola stola, kil'ko nas bulo. . .I tato pomolylyse (do obraza na stini). . . i my posidaly, v chysti. . . zasvityly svichku i povecheryly. . .tai tak sy skinchylo. "[2]

" It was just before supper that everyone changed into their Sunday best clothing. . .just as if we were going to church. . .When mother had everything ready, we all changed. . .And we sat around the table, however many of us there were. . .And father prayed (to the ikon on the wall) and we all sat, in clean clothing. . .a candle was lit and we ate . . .and then it [the meal] ended. "

Mother and girls finished up the food preparations for the *Sviata Vechera* and set the table, while the children were encouraged to search the dusky sky for the appearance of the first evening star. The belief that good fortune would accrue to the one who spotted that first star was carried over to Canada.* When that first star was sighted, all of the dishes and foodstuffs were placed on the table, a candle was lit (and if there was no candle, then the lamp was lit[1]), and all of the members of the family gathered about the dining table to begin the observances for the *Sviata Vechera* . After everyone gathered around the dining table, and before sitting down to eat, the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father) led by the head of the household, was recited. The Sniatyn practice of not getting up from the table for any reason once the meal started was also carried over to East Central Alberta[2], however, the rationale for this practice (which was to ensure that one's hens would sit/brood better) became blurred due to the lack of a significant number of hens during the initial homesteading period. Expedience may have been a reason in the old country (so as to keep the children quiet and attentive at the dinner table) - but if so, this discipline was relaxed in Canada.

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer. See also Diagram 3 in Chapter Two.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* was regarded as a family celebration and it was expected that every family member would attend. The reasons were the same as in the old country, in that:

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*All of the informants reminisced fondly about the intentionally distracting nature of many of the Christmas Eve and Christmas observances for children were encouraged, participated in and/or maintained so that the adults could get their work done.

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> " Tak obserbovuvaly, sho iak KHrystos zaklykav usi dvanadtsiat' apostoliv, usikh do kupy. . .Nu, tai tak tsila rodyna skhodylyse. . .Tak obserbovuvaly, to tak iak sviete! "[1]

> " It was observed, in the same way as when Christ called all of his twelve apostles together. . .In the same way, the whole family gathered. . .That is how it was observed, as if it was holy! "

In addition to the deliberate efforts made by all family members to be present for the *Sviata Vechera* , every effort was also made to spend the day quietly and peacefully without argument, quarrelling, fighting etc., just as it was spent in the old country.[2]

Kutia maintained its important role as the requisite dish for the *Sviata Vechera* during the period in question, however, the reason for its importance was lost. Similarly, the practice of flinging (a) spoonful(s) of the *kutia* to the ceiling at the beginning of the meal was also carried over from Chortkiv and Sniatyn, and its significance was also subsequently lost. For example:

> " Tato to kydaly, kydaly. . .ale do choho vono, ta ia ne znaiu. . .tripne, pozamashchuiut' steliu tym kutiu. . .A tam dity smiut'sia, bo ie z choho smiatysia. . .tam vo tripnut', to vo po steliakh. . .tai potomu obmyvaly toto! "[3]

> " Father flung it, flung it. . .but why he did it, I don't know. . .it was thrown, and that *kutia* stained the ceiling. . .And the children are laughing, because there was something to laugh at. . .it would be flung up to the ceiling. . .then it would have to be cleaned! "

Further:

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[1] John Chillebecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

> " Tak tato kudav z lyzhka. . .Ale na sho to pomahalo, IA sho znav! Taka bula postanova, tai tak robyly. "[1]

> " My father used to fling it [kutia] up from his spoon. . .But why he did it, I didn't know! That was the custom, and so it was done. "

After the ritual flinging and eating of the *kutia* at the very beginning of the *Sviata Vechera* , the remainder of the dishes and foodstuffs were eaten in due course during the meal. The end of the meal was usually signalled by the spontaneous singing of *koliady* - the very same ones as were sung in the old country:

> " Nu, ta to po vecheri, ta koliaduvaly iak khto miv. . .' Boh Predvichnyi ' i ' Vo Vyfleiemi '. . .ta to vsiliaki tam koliady buly. Ei, ia bahato chula, ale koly ia ne pamiataiu vzhe. . .Oi, ia sia nakoliaduvala! "[2]

> " Then, after supper we carolled - anyway and any carol we knew. . .' God Eternal ' and ' In Bethlehem '. . .there were all types of *koliady* . Eh, I heard a lot of carols but I can't remember them anymore. . .I've done my share of carolling! "

The practice of interchanging words to create humourous versions of *koliady* was also carried over to Canada (for an example, see the previous discussion in " Rizdvo ").[3] After everyone got up from the dining table, the candle was immediately snuffed.[4]

Following the *Sviata Vechera* , the various activities of the evening commenced. The children concentrated their efforts on playing in the *didukh* which was strewn under the dining table and benches. While in the old country this practice would have been accompanied by the incorporation of special treats and/or money into the straw, or left on the table after the meal, so that the children could delight in finding them, on the homestead, this practice could not be afforded during the period in question:

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.
[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.
[4] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> " Ta de toho bulo vziety. . .tsukorky ta tsenty. . .ot tam kynuly sina, tai poklaly tam z chyms' sho maly mo des' iake kraiove. . .zastelyly, tai to vs'o! "[1]

> " Where were you able to get such items. . .candies or loose change. . .only hay was strewn and covered with something brought over from the old country. . .it was covered, and that was that! "

The practice of younger members of the family taking leftover dishes and foodstuffs to poorer neighbours after the *Sviata Vechera* was not carried over to Canada.[2] This was primarily due to the fact that all of the homesteaders were poor during the initial period of homesteading, and as such, any leftovers were eventually consumed by the families themselves. As well, the distances between neighbours was too great given the terrain which would have had to have been traversed by the children in the typically severe weather conditions during that time of the year. For the same reasons during the period in question, adolescents did not go carolling to their neighbouring homesteads in East Central Alberta as they would have in their native village areas.[3] They ended up staying at home to either care for their younger siblings at play or assisted in readying them for bed. Sometimes, they also helped their parents with any required evening chores.*

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Kyriak, Op. cit., pp. 272-3 and 276-7 describes two exchange practices of the *Sviata Vechera* dishes and foodstuffs between neighbours. Essentially, these were imitative practices performed to honour specific dead members of the families concerned. These dead members were represented by the neighbours receiving the various food baskets.

[3] Kyriak, Op. cit., pp. 288-290 mentions that spontaneous house to house carolling took place following the *Sviata Vechera* between neighbouring homesteads only.

The women within a family concentrated upon indoor activities after the *Sviata Vechera* (ie. tidying up, making provisions to ensure that any visitors who came to their home would be welcomed with food and/or refreshments, supervising the activities of the children, etc.). In addition, the women also made provisions to leave the *kutia* and/or any other foodstuffs that they thought neccessary on the dining table so that the dearly departed within their family could come and partake of their *Sviata Vechera* during the night. For example:

> " . . .a iak nailysia, to tam lyzhky za pereveslo, to pozapykhaly. . .v toi snip. "[1]

> " . . .and when we finished eating, our spoons were stuck behind the band wrapped around the sheaf. "

Further:

> " Znaiu, sho to nachennia iak my iily. . .tak to vs'o stoialo na stoli. Stoialo azh do druhoi dnyny. . .azh v druhyi den', vzhe my posnidaly, tohdy mohly myty nachennia. "[2]

> " I know that the dishes after we finished eating. . .they remained on the table. They remained there until the next day. . .on that second day, after we finished breakfast, then the dishes could be washed. "

The men of the household concentrated their efforts out of doors following the *Sviata Vechera* (ie. ensuring that the livestock was well

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*All of the informants mentioned these as typical activities for younger adolescents and children within a family after the *Sviata Vechera* .

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

fed and comfortably bedded down for the night). Attending to the well being of the livestock after the *Sviata Vechera* was continued in East Central Alberta during the early years of homesteading (that is, for those who had livestock during the period in question) because the belief that the animals spoke on *Sviatyi Vechir* still persisted among the settlers at that time.[1]

If there was news (usually by word of mouth) of a circuit priest coming into the neighbourhood to celebrate a Christmas service (typically at one of the neighbour's homes), the family would also prepare to attend the service during the *sviata* - whenever and wherever it was to take place.* As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the religious phrase " KHrystos razhdaiet'sia! . . . Slavite IEho! " (Christ is born! . . .Let us glorify Him!) was used throughout the Christmas holiday season to express greetings in lieu of year-round saying " Slava Isusu KHrystu! . . . Slava na viky! (Glory be to Jesus Christ! . . .Glory be forever!). However, unlike the old country, this greeting was wished immediately following the *Sviata Vechera* instead of following the Christmas Mass. The reasoning for this change was rather obvious, in that, usually there was no mass from which to mark the beginning of use of this phrase as there was in the old country.**

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned the infrequency of religious services in the early years of homesteading.

**All of the informants mentioned this.

Rizdvo

Unlike the activity-filled three days of *Rizdvo* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (which were full of various organized and non-organized carolling activities, visiting, dances, outdoor amusements, etc.), the three days of *sviata* in East Central Alberta were spent rather like Sundays, except for the fact that the days did not begin with the compulsory attendance at mass (because there was no church and/or mass to attend):

> " Tam de ia pishov, to ia buv na homshtati, to ne bulo sho ity do tserkvy . . . bo tserkvy ne bulo she. . .sviashchennyka ne bulo. . .Ot, my sobi u vechir znaly sho toi den'. . . tai zrobyly sobi vecheru, povecherily i sprava skinchena! "[1]

> " There where I went, when I was already on my own homestead, there wasn't any way to go to church. . .because there wasn't any church to go to. . .there was no priest. . .When it came to observing [the holiday], we knew that it was on that day. . .and so we made our own supper, ate and that was that! "

Throughout the *sviata* , no one perfomed any tasks requiring heavy labour. As a result, it was one of the few times during the winter period that neighbours actually made the concerted effort to either visit and/or receive visitors, and to generally socialize as they would have in the old country[2] (either indoors for the adults, or outdoors for the children):

> " Skhodylysy odni do druhykh do khaty. . .to tak. . .Susid do susida pryishov, abo nas dva tam ziishlosia do toho susida tai. . .Tam posydily, vypyly po kopykovy. . .tai kozhdyi pishov sobi do domu. "[3]

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Muchin, Op. cit., pp. 42-3 refers to the increasing role played by neighbours in Canada in what were primarily family/extended family celebrations in Western Ukraine.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

> " People used to visit one another. . .Except it was this way. . .Neighbours visited neighbours, or the two of us would gather at a third neighbour's . . .We would sit, drink a bit. . .and then everyone would go home. "

Quite often, it was during these visits that later visits and/or activities would be mutually agreed upon.[1] For example, the neighbours might collectively agree to sponsor a mass and determine which one of them would transport the priest to and fro, or they could decide on which day to go house to house carolling within their immediate section or two of land, etc.

While formalized group carolling did not exist as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, some carolling did take place on the East Central Alberta homesteads during the period in question.[2] Carolling sometimes occured, for instance, during the neighbourly visiting through the three days of *sviata* . For example:

> " . . .svietkuvaly, sydiet'. . .IAk bulo z kym, to pokolieduvaly v khati. . . IAk ne bulo z kym, tai tak sydily. "[3]

> " . . .we celebrated, we sat around. . .If there were visitors, then we carrolled in the house. . .If there weren't any visitors, then we just sat around. "

Further:

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[1] See also Kyriak, Op. cit., p. 278 and 282 for two examples of the process of arranging visits between neighbours during the three days of *Rizdvo* , for *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* .

[2] Rudnyckyj, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 44-45 describes that within the Vita, Alberta settlement, local *koliadnyky* often carolled with " tsymbaly " (hammer dulcimers) and " skrypky " (fiddles) under the main windows of farm homes.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

> " Na svieta she koliaduvaly na Rizdvo. . .a potomu vzhe nikhto ne khodyv! IAk to paro susidiv, paro liudei, nu to sho, to kil'ko budut' khodyly! IAk tam pereishov ieden do druhoho, tai vzhe skinchylosia. "[1]

> " During the holidays there was carolling through *Rizdvo* . . .however, later on, no one went. If there are only a few neighbours, a few people, then who are they going to go to [to carol]!. . .When one neighbour made his way to the next, that was the end of it. "

The diverse repertoire of Ukrainian *koliady* , which catered to the various members and/or aspects of village life in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, were also sung by the new settlers within their homesteading communities in East Central Alberta. While specific examples could not be provided by the informants themselves, these *koliady* were fondly remembered as a vital component of the neighbourly visiting which took place during the winter holiday season throughout the intial period of homesteading.[2] Specifically:

> " Well. . .rozriznialys'. . .Dlia ditei buly inakshi, a dlia starykh znov inakshi buly. . .Starshi liudy bil'she molylysy i kolieduvaly do Isusa KHrysta. . . A ti molodshi pryhaduvaly sobi! "[3]

> " Well. . .there was a difference [in carols]. . .For children there were different ones, and for adults there were again different ones. . .Adults sang more in prayer and for Jesus Christ. . .But the younger ones used to make up more of their own! "

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] See Rudnyckyj, Op. cit., Vol. I for a selection of 9 *koliady* texts (pp. 44-55, 81, 171) and 2 *vinshuvannia* texts (pp. 44-55, 158), as well as, Vol. II for a selection of 8 *koliady* texts (pp. 303-4, 372-4, 376-8, 382-3) and 3 *vinshuvannia* texts (pp. 302, 383, 499) without melodies. J.B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vol. III (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1962) contains an additional 9 *koliady* texts (pp. 596-602) and 2 *vinshuvannia* texts (pp. 602-3) without melodies. As well, see Robert Klymasz, The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 236 Folklore Series No. 9, 1970), pp. 17-71 for a selection of 23 secular carols dedicated to the master of the house, a young maiden, a young lad, and the lady of the house.

[3] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

Carolling sometimes also occured in a semi-organized yet spontaneous fashion as a part of the neighbourly visiting during the three days of *sviata* .[1] For example:

> " Koliadnyky taki buly samo svoi kazaty. . .tak ia kav. . .Mama ishly, tam susids'ka zhinka ishla, tam znov susids'ka. . .tai cholovik zaprieh koni, tai vziev tykh paro zhinok na sany. . .tai vzhe taki koliadnyky! To sho buly iakis' liudy, tam susidy iakykh? Ot tam vo pobalakaly, o shos' kil'ka iikh, tai pishly koliaduvaty. . .To tak i bulo. To iak susidy ishly, iak mama. . .to lyshe tak v susidstvi, tak vid odnoi do druhoi do tretoi. . . i tak koliaduvaly i tak zahostyly. "[2]

> " Carollers were their own so to speak. . .like I said. . .Mother went, there was a lady from the neighbourhood, and another neighbourhood lady. . . and one of the husbands would harness up the horses and would transport the ladies by sleigh. . .and there you had your carollers! What else. . .do you think there were any people, any other neighbours? They would gossip, the few of them, and then they would go carolling . . .That is how it was. So when the neighbours went, like my mother. . . they only went amongst themselves, from one neighbour, to the second, to the third. . .and carolled, and hosted one another. "

While carolling was quite obviously the highlight of the winter holiday season visiting process between neighbours during the initial period of homesteading in East Central Alberta, the content of the visits themselves were similar to the informal socials held in the native village areas with family and/or friends (when time and circumstances permitted). While the children enjoyed snowballing and simply playing in the snow outdoors (ie. if they had winter weight clothing and footwear) or playing in the *didukh* indoors, the adults enjoyed talking, joking, eating, drinking, telling tales and/or stories, politicizing, playing cards, and of course, singing and playing instuments. The only difficulty with these socials/visits, if one was to call it a difficulty, was their infrequency throughout these lonely initial homesteading years in Canada.*

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[1] See also Kyriak, Op. cit., pp. 279-282 for another detailed example of neighbourhood carolling.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

Zbory , which was the most active day of *koliaduvannia* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, was simply observed as another quiet day of *sviata* in Alberta. *Stefana* , the third day day of *sviata* was quiet also, but, it could have also been celebrated as someone's nameday. *Stefana* however, was also significant, because it was on this day that the *diduch* (which by this third day of *sviata* was probably strewn all over the house) was swept out of the house and burned. For example:

" Na tretyi den' vynosyly. . .i vo tam zapalyly, tai skakaly po verkha toho . . .bavylysia. . .Z toho popilu zrobyly khrest (z toho popilu iak soloma ta zhorila, tai roztiehnuly, zrobyly khrest). . .Ot to ia pamiataiu! "[1]

" On the third day it [the didukh] was taken outside. . .and it was burned, and we used to jump over the flames. . .we played that way. . . From the ashes, a cross was made (from the ashes produced when the straw was burned, they were spread out into the shape of a cross). . . That I remember! "

Further:

" . . .Tak iak to sino bulo na stoli i pid stolom, to to sino stoialo vsi try dny . . . azh potomu to sino zbyraly i vynosyly na dvir. . .I faino pozaprietuvaly i zapalyly. "[2]

" . . .Take the hay that was on the table and under the table. . .that hay remained for three days. . .after that time the hay was taken outdoors . . .piled neatly and burned. "

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*All of the informants mentioned this aspect of loneliness during the first few years of homesteading.

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

This practice, which was known as " Palennia Didukha " (literally - burning the *diduch*), was continued in East Central Alberta in its entirety during this initial period of homesteading. Just as in the villages of Eastern Galicia, this observance required the removal of the straw which was to be burned to an outside area as far away as possible from the house, as well as, the forested areas. The *diduch* was then lit. As it burned, the children, as well as everyone who was present at the burning, were encouraged to jump over the flames. Just as in the old country, it was believed by the Ukrainian homesteaders in Canada that jumping over the flames would protect the jumpers from any serious afflictions of the lower limbs.[1] After the straw burned itself out, the ashes which remained were redistributed and shaped into a cross. This cross was then left until spring, at which time it was turned over when soil preparations began for the garden. Similarly as in the old country, the Ukrainian homesteader believed that leaving this ashen cross on his property protected his family and home from any possible evil.* If hay was used as the *didukh* , it was typically put back into the haypile for the livestock**(if there was any). For those informants who used hay, the sheaves stayed in the corners of their houses until New Year's Day - at which time they were removed to the granary for future use.

While for all practical purposes, the Christmas *sviata* in East Central Alberta began with the meal on *Sviatyi Vechir* (versus following the Christmas Mass in the old country), *sviata* definitely ended with the end of day on *Stefana* just as it did in Chortkiv and Sniatyn.

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants commented on how wasteful the burning of hay would have been interpretted.

Novyi Rik

While the observance of *Novyi Rik* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn encompassed a two-part celebratory period, namely the preparations for and observance of New Year's Eve or " Malanka ", as well as, New Year's Day or " Vasylia ", in East Central Alberta, during the initial period of homesteading, the observance of *Novyi Rik* essentially involved preparations for the observance of New Year's Day alone:

> " Malanka. . .A ia znaiu sho vono. . .Khodyly tam iakis' koliaduvaly, chy sho, chy spivaly. . .Tam meni mama vzhe hovoryly tut sho tam v kraiu khodyly iakes', ale ia tut ne vydila. . .Tut v Kanadi, ta to ne bulo nikoho, tai liudei nema, tai Malanky nema. "[1]

> " *Malanka* . . .I don't know what it is. . .There used to be some sort of carollers, who sang. . .My mother used to tell me that in the old country there used to be those types [of groups], but I never saw any here. . . Here in Canada, there was no one, there were no people, and so, there was no *Malanka* . "

Novyi Rik (proper)

The preparations for the observance of *Vasylia* , were essentially those required before any *sviata* or Sunday. These preparations took place during the four day respite between *Stefana* and *Vasylia* , and as with the preparations for the observance of *Rizdvo* , the preparations before *Novyi Rik* focused on ensuring that no heavy work or labour would be perfomed by any family member on that holiday. For the men in the family, it again meant that all of the heavy labour outdoors had to be completed, while for the women in the family, preparing for *Novyi Rik* meant that all of the serious work indoors had to be completed. As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, there were no specific and/or requisite dishes and foodstuffs which had to be prepared for the New Year as there were for the Christmas holidays. The food which was consumed during this holiday was simply that which existed within the family's immediate food stocks at the time.*

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

St. Basil's Day or *Vasylia* was observed on the 14th of January in accordance with the Julian Calendar and was New Year's Day or *Novyi Rik* (proper). While it could have been celebrated as someone's nameday, *Vasylia* , for the most part was an enthusiastically looked forward to feast day for those families with children. As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the children on this day were allowed, indeed encouraged to go to the neighbouring homesteads to scatter grains and recite felicitations wishing good fortune and good will for the new year. As in the old country, this scattering of grain in East Central Alberta was known as " zasivannia "** and was appreciatively welcomed by all homesteaders:

> " Nu, iak buly iaki dity kolo khaty, to prykhodyly. . .a iak ne bulo, to ne ishly nikhto. . .Ale. . .iak bulo dekomu pshenytsi, ditei, taka sho bulo khloptsi i divky. . .tai prykhodyly reshta. . .To na Novyi Rik prykhodyly. "[1]

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*All of the informants mentioned these general preparations for *Novyi Rik* .

**All of the informants mentioned this nomenclature.

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

> " Well, when there were children in a home, they used to come. . .but when there weren't any, then no one came. . .So. . .when in a household there was some wheat, children - either boys or girls. . .then they used to come. . .On New Year's Day they used to come. "

Although the practice of *zasivannia* typically involved young children, it appears that adults also participated in this event as well:

> " Ne duzhe bahato khodyv. IA kazhu sho to desiet' tsentiv tohdy, ta to buly velyki hroshi. . .IAk ia pishov na Novyi Rik i tam pospivav iemu u khati, tai rozsypav toho tam zbizhzhia troshky. . .tai vin dav meni piet' tsy desiet' tsentiv, ta ia duzhe, duzhe tishyvsia. . .Ale to ne lyshen' khloptsi khodyly, tai i stari khodyly. . .IE! IAk ia vzhe buv starshyi, tato ishly do susida, to vony maly v kyshene to zbizhzhe, i vony prykhodiet' i to. . .maiut' na sam pered to posiaty iemu u khati, tai to vs'o. . .Ale to ne bulo sho vin mav iim platyty. TSe taku vony iakus' postanovu maly shcho tak liubyly robyty. "[1]

> " I didn't go that often. I told you that ten cents at that time was a lot of money. . .When I went on New Year's Day and sang and scattered some grain. . .and was given five or ten cents. . .I was very, very happy. . .But it wasn't only boys that went, adults went too. . .Yes! When I was older, my father went to the neighbour's with some grain in his pocket. . .and when he arrived he had to first scatter some grain for him in his house . . .But it wasn't that he was supposed to be paid for that. It was a custom between them that they liked to do that. "

It appears, that the parents may have intentionally accompanied their children in the *zasivannia* rituals for the purpose of visiting their neighbours. If the weather was particularly severe on *Novyi Rik* , and/or the terrain too difficult for the children to navigate, the children scattered the grains/seeds in their own homes. As such, they would have been rewarded in the same manner as if they would have scattered grains for their neighbours.*

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

As in the old country, the activities on *Vasylia* began as the family stirred from bed. During morning ablutions, the practice of washing from a basin filled with water containing a few coins was continued within the Ukrainian households of East Central Alberta, however, its meaning was lost:

> " Ta to bulo i v nas tak sho kydaly. . .Kydaly tam desiat' tsentiv, chy dvedtsiet' tsentiv u tu mysku tai vmyvalysy. . .Ale sho ti hroshi pomahaly? "[1]

> " It was in our household that coins were thrown. . .Ten, twenty cents were thrown into a basin of water and we washed from that basin. . . But how those coins helped? "

After morning ablutions, the young children within a family had the opporunity to go scatter grains/seeds for their immediate neighbours and/ or their own families to earn a few cents for themselves. As in the old country, this practice was performed with the intention of wishing a good crop and good fortune in the upcoming year for the households concerned. The felicitations recited and the process observed were the same as those followed in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (see previous discussion in " Novyi Rik " in Chapter Two). Similarly, just as in the old country, the grains and/or seeds which were used were those which the family itself could afford to donate. Following their performances, the children's efforts were rewarded with whatever the household had to offer.*

Unlike the old country, there was no mass to attend during this initial period of homesteading due to the fact that there was no church and/or priest to conduct the service. As a result, the rest of the day following *zasivannia* was typically spent quietly indoors as was any *sviata* or Sunday. For example:

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants mentioned this general schedule of events for *Novyi Rik* .

> " Nu. . .ta sho robyty na Novyi Rik. . .svieto. . .tai sydiet', ne robliet', tai svietkuiut'! "[1]

> " Well. . .what were you supposed to do on New Year's Day. . .it was a holiday. . .so you sat around, did not do any [heavy] work, and [that's how you] celebrated! "

Iordan

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the observance of *Iordan* in the Mundare and Wostok homesteading areas of East Central Alberta encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period. First, there were the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan or " SHCHedryi Vechir ". Second, there were the activities associated with the observance and celebration of the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan ".* Descriptions of these phases follow.

SHCHedryi Vechir

As with *Novyi Rik* , the preparations for *SHCHedryi Vechir* and *Iordan* took place during the three and a half day respite between *Vasylia* and the evening of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan. As such, the preparations which were completed, were again performed by each able bodied member of the family for the sole purpose of not having to perform heavy work and/or labour during the day and half stretching from dusk on *SHCHedryi Vechir* to the end of the day on *Iordan* . Further, just as with the activities preceeding *Sviatyi Vechir* , preparations for the obsevance of *SHCHedryi Vechir* included the cooking of a second meal similar to that of the *Sviata Vechera* which was known as a " SHCHedrak ".[1]

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants agreed on this sub-division of the holidays comprising *Iordan* .

Similar to the observances associated with *SHCHedryi Vechir* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, in Mundare and Wostok the day was also observed as a day of fasting. And again, not everyone in a family fasted because allowance was made for those too young to tolerate a fast (ie. children approximately fourteen years of age and under). For those who did fast, fasting meant either complete abstention from all food and/or drink for the day, or, fasting with an allowance for water, coffee and/or tea during the day. As with the observance on *Sviatyi Vechir* , fasting ended with the approach of dusk on *SHCHedryi Vechir* . As in the old country, the dishes and foodstuffs which were prepared for the *SHCHedrak* evening meal on the homestead were meatless and milkless - regardless of the day of the week that *SHCHedryi Vechir* fell on (and despite the fact that there was no *pist* during that time). While each family was aware that ideally, twelve different dishes could or should be prepared, in reality each family prepared what it was able to afford. *Kutia* was again the requisite dish, while the remainder of dishes included *holubtsi* , *pyrohy* , mushrooms, fish, and *kolach* and/or bread. Again, the recipes and methods of preparation for the dishes and food products which were prepared for *SHCHedryi Vechir* were identical to those prepared for *Sviatyi Vechir* .*

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #2.

When dusk approached, everyone in the family waited for father and the boys to come indoors following the completion of their outdoor chores. This signalled to everyone that the fasting was nearly over and that the holidays were about to begin. While the men washed up and changed into their holiday attire, mother and the girls finished up the food preparations for the *SHCHedrak* and set the table. When everyone and everything was ready, the entire family gathered around the dining table, a candle was lit, the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father) led by the head of the house was said aloud, following which everyone sat down to eat. As with the *Sviata Vechera* , it was expected that every family member who was able to, attended the *SHCHedrak* meal. The spontaneous singing of *shchedrivky* typically signalled the end of the meal.**

Unlike the old country, a ritual lay blessing of the family's farm outbuildings was not done during the initial period of homesteading. The reasons for this were twofold. First, typically, the Ukrainian homesteaders would not have had any blessed water in the house (since there were no church services held for the blessing of water), and second, few

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*All of the informants described this typical schedule of events for the day of *SHCHedryi Vechir* .

**All of the informants continued in this typical description of the schedule of events for *SHCHedryi Vechir* . See Rudnyckyj, Op. cit., Vol. I, for a selection of 6 *shchedrivky* texts (pp. 44-55, 179, 216), Vol. II for a selection of 5 *shchedrivky* texts (pp. 375-6, 501-5), as well as, Vol. III for an additional 2 *shchedrivky* texts (pp. 596-602) without melodies.

homesteaders would have had any developed and/or completed farm buildings during the first few years (particularly if they had no livestock and/or harvests to house). Further, because there was no holy water in the house, the practice of leaving holy water for the dead members of the family following the *SHCHedrak* evening meal was not done during these early years of homesteading.*

Typically during the early years of homesteading in East Central Alberta, following the *SHCHedrak* , the children stayed at home and spent the rest of the evening playing quietly indoors. The adolescents also stayed indoors. They did not organize themselves into *shchedruvannia* groups as they did in the old country. Again, this was primarily due to the fact that the distance between homesteads was too great for spontaneous house to house carolling. As well, the typically severe weather of an Alberta winter hampered any desires to stay outdoors for any extended length of time that travelling by foot would have entailed. At home, the adolescents either helped their parents with the evening chores, and/or watched over their younger siblings at play or readied them for bed. The women within a family concentrated on indoor chores and activities similar to those following the *Sviata Vechera* , while the men within a family concentrated on the outdoor chores and activities (if there were any).**

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*This situation in reality was an extension of the problems experienced due to the lack of an organized religious presence during the initial period of Ukrainian settlement in Alberta.

**All of the informants described this typical schedule of activities following the *SHCHedrak* evening meal.

Iordan (proper)

Iordan was observed on the 19th of January (in accordance with the Julian Calendar) and was essentially spent in the same manner as any *sviata* or Sunday:[1]

> " . . .Avo, svieta, svieta! Take vo, na vot nyni Nedilia. . .ide, tai pereide, tai nema vzhe. . .tai taki svieta! . . .Peresviatkuvaly, tai nema. "

> " . . .Well, the holidays are holidays! Take for example, if today is Sunday . . .it comes, it passes, and its gone. . .and that's just like holidays! . . . They are observed, and then they pass. "

Unlike the old country, there was no opportunity to attend mass on *Iordan* in the Mundare and/or Wostok homesteading areas in the early years of settlement. As a result, there was no opportunity for the families to collect the holy water which was kept in the house for its various uses and perceived powers and benefits. Specifically:

> " IAk sviashchennyk buv, i iak tserkva bula, tai ishly [na Rizdvo, na Novyi Rik, na Iordan]. . .a iak ne bulo, tai ne ishly. . .v khati sydily. "[2]

> " When there was a priest, and when there was a church, then we went [for Christmas, for New Year's, for the Feast of Jordan]. . .and when there wasn't, then we didn't go. . .we stayed in the house. "

Just as on Christmas Day, the Feast of Jordan was spent socializing, by young and old alike - if there was any visiting between the homesteading neighbours on that day. Unlike the old country, there was no local priest who came to visit parishioners for the annual blessing of the home. As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Iordan* was observed as the last day of the winter holiday season. And while, St. John' Day was not observed, on the day following *Iordan* , the religious phrase " Slava Isusu KHrystu! . . . Slava na viky! " (Glory be to Jesus Christ! . . . Glory be forever!) was resumed as the standard greeting. And finally, the restrictions on the community-wide abstention of participation in public displays of merriment, music-making, dancing and the celebration of certain family festivals (namely weddings) ended.*

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

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*All of the informants described these general occurances and resumptions of activity on the day following *Iordan* .

CHAPTER FOUR

RIZDVO

DURING THE (ESTABLISHED) FARMING PERIOD

The discussion examining the (established) farming period focuses on the homesteading families when they were able to comfortably earn a living from their working (ie. established) farms[1], were actively participating within their local communities (ie. school districts, voting areas, etc.), had built and were attending their local churches and community halls, and, were interactive economic members with local commercial enterprises (ie. grain suppliers to elevators, regular purchasers at general stores, utilizers of post offices and other local government facilities, etc.). Moreover, they became active members within their farming communities when viable transportation links, namely roadways and railways, were completed (or in the process of being completed) during the period under review - enabling them to utilize the aforementioned institutions.[2] For information with respect to the observances associated with in a primarily post-World War I rural Alberta, these informants capitalized on their ability to utilize the various newly established institutions and facilities within their local communities, and more importantly (in their consideration), were able to provide the opportunity(ies) for their children to fully participate in the religious, academic, social and/or commercial life which they themselves were unable to benefit from as children. As a result, both they and their children lived considerably less isolated and/or impoverished lives. Typically, their children were raised in a home (albeit, a two or three room mud-plastered and thatch-roofed *khata*) instead of a dugout or roughly constructed shack; had a regular seasonal balanced diet of meat, starches, vegetables and dairy products from their personal resources; grew up familiar with both the subsistent and commercial aspects of operating a family-owned farm (ie. chores, seasonal activities, building, maintaining and repairing structures and equipment, dealing with grain purchasing agents, purchasing additional land, equipment and/or livestock, etc.); attended school; participated in regularly scheduled (or nearly regularly scheduled) church services at the local church; and, also participated in the various organized and non-organized activities at the local parish/community halls. These farming families were also able to travel more often and over longer distances using horse-drawn transportation via the hardpacked (and in most cases graded) roadways which traversed their districts. They were even able to take the train into Edmonton for a day trip if they so desired! (ie. if it could be afforded). Indeed, the conveniences in their lifestyles during the period under review were a vast improvement over the early years in a primarily post-World War I rural Alberta, these informants capitalized on their ability to utilize the various newly established institutions and facilities within their local communities, and more importantly (in their consideration), were able to provide the opportunity(ies) for their children to fully participate in the religious, academic, social and/or commercial life which they themselves were unable to benefit from as children. As a result, both they and their children lived considerably less isolated and/or impoverished lives. Typically, their children were raised in a home (albeit, a two or three room mud-plastered and thatch-roofed *khata*) instead of a dugout or roughly constructed shack; had a regular seasonal balanced diet of meat, starches, vegetables and dairy products from their personal resources; grew up familiar with both the subsistant and commercial aspects of operating a family-owned farm (ie. chores, seasonal activities, building, maintaining and repairing structures and equipment, dealing with grain purchasing agents, purchasing additional land, equipment and/or livestock, etc.); attended school; participated in regularly scheduled (or nearly regularly scheduled) church services at the local church; and, also participated in the various organized and non-organized activities at the local parish/community halls. These farming families were also able to travel more often and over longer distances using horse-drawn transportation via the hardpacked (and in most cases graded) roadways which traversed their districts. They were even able to take the train into Edmonton for a day trip if they so desired! (ie. if it could be afforded) Indeed, the conveniences in their lifestyles during the period under review were a vast improvement over the early years spent in establishing a homestead in the wilderness immediately following their arrival in East Central Alberta.[1]

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[1] See Orest Martynowych, " The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in Alberta " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988), pp. 32-34 for a discussion on the evolution of the Ukrainian farm in East Central Alberta during the period under review.

[2] Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) Vol II (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1973): pp. 169-173 and 213-214 describes that the hopes and dreams of the Ukrainian pioneering families were confirmed when they brought their farms into profitable production, as well as, when they were able to modernize their operations through the purchase of machinery. This is confirmed by Martynowych, Op. cit., pp. 40-49 and Radomir Bilash, " Ukrainian Rural Communities in East Central Alberta Before 1930 " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988) - both of which describe the progress of Ukrainian farming conditions and rural community life during the period under review. J.S. Woodsworth, Ukrainian Rural Communities (Winnipeg: Bureau of Social Research for the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1917), pp. 145-6 also describes the first years of World War I as an important milestone in the economic development of Ukrainian farms (due to hyperinflated prices on the commodities markets) and Ukrainian community life (due to the completion of most of the main roadways) within the bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta.

Although these families were admittedly poor (by today's standards), none of them wanted for the basics of survival (ie. food, clothing, shelter, etc.). As a result, each family was able to focus increasingly on its efforts to establish some form of comfortable domestic and socially interactive lifestyle. Predictably, these efforts included the observance, practice and/or revival of Ukrainian customs and traditions within their emerging environment. Essentially, as day to day life became less stressful and less preoccupied with life's basic neccessities, it became more relaxing and enjoyable (ie. the amount of leisure time increased).[2] The conditions which affected the establishment (or re-establishment) of a Ukrainian heritage in the wilderness of East Central Alberta during the initial period of homesteading (namely isolation and poverty) were improved by the increasing affluence of the families who had commercially viable farms, as well as, from the re-establishment of the basic infrastructures of community life (ie. church, school, community hall, roads, etc.). For example:

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[1] Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) Vol III (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1973): pp. 159-163 confirms that it was during the First World War that most of the Ukrainian homesteaders were able to secure their farming and financial interests. See also " Ukrainians and their Progress in the West During the Early Years " in Samuel H. Harden, History of Greater Vegreville (Vegreville: Samuel H. Harden, 1968), pp. 52-53a. Woodsworth, Op. cit., pp. 73-95 documented the progress of the Ukrainian immigrant farmers within the Mundare, Shandro, Chipman and Lamont districts of the East Central Alberta bloc settlement and noted that most farmers during the First World War were working 1-2 quarters and had from between 30-40 percent of the land on their farms broken and under cultivation. Most had impressive machine holdings, livestock holdings, and garden produce and were able to house their families and holdings in modest yet comfortable facilities.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5, and, Anne Fedoruk (nee Chillibecki), Interview #1. Anne was born on her parents' homestead in the Slawa area in 1916. The family relocated to the Warwick area when she was 10 years old.

> " I remember dad telling us that when his family came to Canada, they came with nothing but their trunk of clothes. . .no money. . .In fact, they were sponsored. . .Things were so sparse that when they came they had to go to Edmonton to buy a sack of flour!. . .But things got better. . .vzhe iak sialy i svoie zbizhzhia maly (once they started seeding and had their own grain). . .When they had their own [resources]. "[1]

As Ukrainian farming families experienced greater leisure time combined with the greater material means (both financial and physical) and access to the newly established intitutions within the bloc settlement area - Ukrainian private and community life developed on the Western Canadian Prairie. Simply put, a Ukrainian-Canadian rural lifestyle evolved. Predictably, many of the Ukrainian winter holiday practices, beliefs, rituals and/or customs, which were eliminated from the family folk-cultural experience during the initial years of homesteading, re-emerged. Many observances however, did not re-emerge, while others were modified to fit the constraints of the new environment of Prairie Western Canada. The retention, elimination and/or modification of the various aspects of Ukrainian heritage in East Central Alberta was influenced by a number of factors. All of the informants (both first and second generation Ukrainian-Canadians) married within the Ukrainian ethnic community. Further, many married individuals whose families also came from the same village and/or county areas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. They also resided primarily within the Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta for most of their active working lives. In addition, all of the informants spoke Ukrainian, associated primarily with other Ukrainian farming families, and, were active participants within the Ukrainian institutions established within their local communties (notably the church, church/community hall, and to a lesser extent business/professional services). All of these factors[*] contributed significantly and were conducive to facilitating the families' abilities to be able to maintain a rather unique Ukrainian cultural lifestyle in Western Canada. As a result, many of the Ukrainian winter holiday customs and traditions were revived and/or modified. Reflective of this general sentiment with respect to the maintenance of a Ukrainian way of doing things in Canada is the following statement:

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

> " You know. . .You follow your parents. . .That's the way they taught you, or how it was when you were with them. . .And that's the way that they did [things], and so, that's the way that I did [things]! "[1]

However, given all of these enabling factors, which were conducive to the maintainance of many Ukrainian (Winter Holiday) customs and traditions in Canada, a number of observances were entirely inappropriate for the farming environment of East Central Alberta. Further, many families still may not have had the time and/or finances to observe certain practices in their entirety, or conversely, because many families had the time and/or finances, certain practices were willingly eliminated (particularly those practices reminding them of their poverty in the old country).[1] Or rather obviously, many of the observances were viewed by the families involved as not being important enough to warrant retention, maintenance and/or modification given their existing lifestyle (and the constraints upon it) in Canada. On the whole however, when an observance or practice was intentionally (or unintentionally) dropped by a family, it was done so primarily as a result of the following three reasons: either the meaning was lost; its meaning was irrelevent; or, logistically, it was impossible to maintain. To a lesser extent, there was a desire on the Ukrainian farmer's part to conform to what was perceived to be the " Canadian " (ie. Anglo-Celtic) way of doing things.[+]

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[*] All of the informants mentioned, in one form or another, these contributing factors in their ability to maintain a Ukrainian lifestyle in East Central Alberta. Martynowych, Op. cit., pp. 53-54 notes that overall, Ukrainians constituted approximately 67 per cent of the total population (of what today is known as the Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta) during the period under review. However, these same conditions were viewed by their Anglo-Celtic neighbours as tainting the intrinsic make-up of the Anglo-conformist (or rather Anglo-elitist) host society already established within the province. See Jaroslav Petryshyn, " Canadian Perceptions of the North-West and the East Europeans, 1891-1914: The Case of the Ukrainians " in Journal of Ukrainian Studies Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981): pp. 43-65. As a result, while it was accepted that very little could be done to assimilate the immigrant generation to the " Canadian " way of life, Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 139 concludes that their children must be indoctrinated through the school system. For further discussion see Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982).

[1] Frances Gunderson (nee Romaniuk), Interview #1. Frances was born on her parents' homestead in the Wostok area in 1917. The family relocated to the Borshchiw area when she was 4 years old.

RIZDVO OBSERVANCES
(during the farming period)

The examination of *Rizdvo* involves a two phase approach (similar in format to the discussions presented in Chapters Two and Three). The first phase centres on the observances and preparations associated with

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #6.

[+] This desire however, was primarily limited to second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians after they left home, and, after they and their children began to integrate on a larger scale into primarily non-Ukrainian communities during and following the Second World War.

Advent or " Pylypivka " while the second phase centres on the observances and practices associated with Christmas Eve or " Sviatyi Vechir ", Christmas or " Rizdvo ", New Year's or " Novyi Rik ", and the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan ".[1] These phases are described and discussed in terms of diet, social activity and the preparation and participation in both religious and non-religious rituals and practices.[2]

Pylypivka

Pylypivka (which continued to be referred to simply as " pist "[*]), during the period under review (and following the re-establishement of a Ukrainian religious hierarchy in East Central Alberta)[+], was again observed as a six week[3] church ordained preparatory period immediately preceeding *Rizdvo* .[4] As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Pylypivka* stretched from the beginning of the last week of November to the end of the first week of January.* Generally, during the farming period in East Central Alberta, Ukrainian families observed *Pylypivka* as a period during which certain dietary restrictions were practiced on Wednesdays and Fridays[1] (unlike the Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays which were observed in the old country).[2] As well, it was a period of community-wide abstention from public displays of dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities (namely weddings).[3] Admittedly, it was a period of time, where quite simply, there was not all that much to give up and/or restrict. For example:

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[1] For pictorials illustrating the (established) farming period in East Central Alberta see National Film Board of Canada, Ukrainian Winter Holidays (16mm, Colour, 22 min., 1942) and Robert B. Klymasz, The Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle in Canada (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 236 Folklore Series No. 9, 1970).

[2] For excellent comparisons with parallel *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* observances as they were maintained in Ukraine during the period under review see " Zyma " (Winter) in Oleksa Voropai, Zvychaii Nashoho Narodu (The Customs of Our People) Vol. I (Munich: Cicero, 1958), pp. 18-174, and, Stepan Kylymnyk, Ukrains'kyi Rik u Narodnykh Zvychaiakh (The Ukrainian Year in Folk Customs) (Winnipeg: Research Institute of Volyn', 1964), Vols. I (Winter Cycle) and V (Autumn Cycle).

[*] All of the informants mentioned this alternate nomenclature for *Pylypivka* .

[+] The Ukrainian Basilian religious brotherhood (known as the " Basilian Fathers ") established a monastary in the Mundare area just after the turn of this century.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Peter was born on his parents' homestead in the Slawa area in 1913. The family relocated to the Warwick area when he was 13 years old. Nancy Rurka (nee Romaniuk), Interview #1. Nancy was born on her parents' homestead in the Wostok area in 1911. The family relocated to the Borshchiw area when she was 9 years old.

[4] Anne Faryna (nee Romaniuk), Interview #1. Anne was born on her parents' homestead in the Wostok area in 1915. The family relocated to the Borshchiw area when she was 5 years old. Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Walter was born on his

" Besides eating and dancing, what else is there to give up? "[4]

Further:

> " It really didn't matter all that much to us because there weren't all that many activities that you could give up!. . .There was no T.V. Radio came a lot later I guess. I think the first radio [we had] was just before the

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parents' homestead in the Wostok area in 1920. The family relocated to the Borshchiw area when he was less than a year old.

*All of the informants mentioned that they continued to observe the Julian Calendar during the period under review.

[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. William was born on his parents' homestead in the Slawa area in 1914. The family relocated to the Warwick area when he was 12 years old. Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1. Harry was born on his parents' homestead in the Slawa area in 1923. The family relocated to the Warwick area when he was 3 years old.

[2] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1. Lloyd was born in the Vegreville Hospital in 1941 and was raised on the farm his parents' homesteaded just north of Vegreville. Sofia Gara (nee Chillibecki), Interview #1. Sofia was born in the Vegreville Hospital in 1928 and was raised on the farm her parents relocated to in the Warwick area.

[3] Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Katherine Kubin (nee Chillibecki), Interview #1. Katherine was born on her parents' homestead in the Slawa area in 1921. The family relocated to the Warwick area when she was 5 years old.

[4] Velma Letwin (nee Romaniuk), Interview #1. Velma was born on her parents' homestead in the Wostok area in 1913. The family relocated to the Borshchiw area when she was 7 years old.

> start of the [second] world war. . .So in the interim, there just wasn't all that much to give up! "[1]

On the other hand, one could not (or would not) organize any large scale public social event(s) because *Pylypivka* was being observed by all of the members of the local community. As such, it meant that every Ukrainian family was also adhering to its restrictions.* This restrictive state is humourously reflected by the following statement:

" Pist za khvist, tai pid mist! "[2]

" Pist has you by the tail, and under the bridge! " (ie. *Pist* is all around)

Although public celebrations and festivities were not held during *Pylypivka* , family and neighbourhood socializing continued.** A number of religious and non-religious feast days were observed (namely St. Andrew's Day and St. Nicholas' Day), however, these were primarily celebrated either as private socials held within the confines of an individual's home, as namedays, or more commonly as observances noted from following one's church calendar.*** The observance of the other religious feast days which were celebrated in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (namely St. Barbara's Day and St. Anne's Day) were never really re-established in East Central Alberta (except perhaps as namedays) following the initial homesteading period. This was primarily due to the general lack of clergy to mark those days with services at the local church.* And finally (as previously mentioned in the discussion on the initial homesteading period), unlike the old country, *Pylypivka* in East Central Alberta did not coincide with the onset of the winter season. As a result, many of the practices and activities associated with the preparation of one's household, farm holdings, livestock and produce for the winter would have already been completed in the early fall immediately following the harvesting season.[1]

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[1] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Bohdan was born in an Edmonton hospital in 1925 and was raised on the farm that his father homesteaded in the Redwater area.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #2. Freely translated by the writer.

**All of the informants mentioned that family and neighbourhood visiting and socializing continued through *Pylypivka* in much the same manner as it took place throughout the remainder of the year when time and circumstances permitted.

***All of the informants mentioned that each of their households contained religious calendars which clearly indicated the important feast and/or fasting days of the year.

The aspects of dietary restrictions, socializing and the observance of selected feast days throughout *Pylypivka* in East Central Alberta during the (established) farming period is described and discussed in turn.

Dietary Restrictions

The typical diet of an established Ukrainian farming family in Alberta during the period under review, was considerably richer and more varied than the typical Ukrainian peasant diet left behind in Galicia, as well as, the diet consumed during the initial years of homesteading. Unlike the rationing of meat, meat products, eggs and all dairy products which took place in the old country, each farmer, within a relatively short period of time was able to secure his own reserves of these previously scarce commodities in his diet. In addition, the garden and grain harvests, the forest harvest, and the ability to purchase certain foodstuffs, rounded out his diet rather substantially. As a result, when it came to the observance of certain dietary restrictions during *Pylypivka* in East Central Alberta during the period in question, those restrictions became increasingly voluntary. This contrasts markedly to the economic conditions which fostered the dietary restrictions in the old country. When the dietary restrictions were observed during *Pylypivka* , they once again centred on the omission of meat (including poultry), meat products (including fats), eggs and all dairy products on Wednesdays and Fridays. However, whereas in the old country the diet resulted in primarily vegetarian foodstuff consumption on the days of restriction, in Alberta during the period under review, fish (either *oseledtsi* or canned[1]) was liberally substituted for meat in the diet. While in the old country fish was a luxury enjoyed once or twice a year*, in Canada it became commonplace as a ready substitute for meat on designated days of fasting. Farmers, during the period under review, could readily and rather easily afford to purchase a winter's supply of canned sardines, tuna or salmon, as well as barrels of *oseledtsi* for their families.[2] Further, because these previously scarcely consumed foodstuffs (namely meat and/or fish) were relatively plentiful on the farms in East Central Alberta (when compared to their availability in the old country), if it was forgotten within a family that a certain day was supposed to be a fasting day, there were no anguished regrets about the oversight. In fact, many rationalized their non-adherance to the diet restrictions during *Pylypivka* .[1] These rationalizations included, for example, the requirement for meat following a labour intensive work day, the requirement to keep up their strength while performing their routine chores and activities generally, as well as, the reasoning that in Canada they could afford to have meat whenever they wanted.[2]

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 137 notes that most Ukrainian farmers living in their traditional white-washed and thatch-roofed cottages continued to insulate their homes by surrounding their outer walls with sacks filled with hay or straw. This is reminiscent of the old country " zakhata " (See Diagrams 1 and 2 in Chapter Two).

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. By the time Ukrainians established commercially viable farming enterprises in East Central Alberta, the families concerned were able to purchase large quantities of *oseledtsi* (pickled herring) and/or canned varieties of fish as part of the staples needed to feed their families through the winter. Typically, purchases of *oseledtsi* were by the barrelful whereas canned goods were bought by the caseful.

*All of the informants mentioned that in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, fish was usually consumed only two times in the calendar year - on *Sviatyi Vechir* and on Good Friday.

[2] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

The diet of the average Ukrainian farming family in East Central Alberta during *Pylypivka* in the period under review was largely based on the primarily vegetarian diet known in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (previously described in Chapter Two under " Dietary Restrictions ").* Three things however, were drastically different about their diets in Canada. First, the farmer was able to provide his own generous supplies of various types of flour (from his own grain harvest), garden produce (from his own farm garden), as well as, mushrooms, berries and herbs (from his own woodlands). Second, the farmer was able to provide his own generous supplies of meat and meat products, as well as, eggs and dairy products (from his own livestock reserves). And third, the farmer was able to purchase, in rather large amounts, those food items which he could not produce himself (usually canned or dried goods). As a result, families ate well during *Pylypivka* (indeed throughout the year) during the period under review.[1] As such, any restrictions to their diet, which were prescribed by the church, became increasingly voluntary, indeed optional, as occured throughout the rest of the calendar year on designated days of fasting.*

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[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Robert Kostash, Interview #1. Robert was born in the Vegreville Hospital in 1934 and was raised on the farm his father homesteaded in the Vegreville area.

[2] Ibid.

*All of the immigrant informants mentioned that, generally speaking, the differences in their diets between the old country and Alberta was not so much the types of foodstuffs consumed, but rather the amount and variety that was more readily available to them.

The typical Ukrainian diet on the (established) farms in East Central Alberta included any and/or all of the following foodstuffs: wheatmeal, oatmeal, barleymeal and/or cornmeal *kasha* (a type of rough ground porridge); wheat and/or rye flour breads (the quantities of consumption depending on the types of grains harvested that year); pickled whole cabbage and/or sauerkraut; pickled cucumbers, onions and/or beets; potatoes, beets, turnips, onions, garlic, squash, carrots, peas and beans from cold storage in a root cellar and/or from canned stocks (from their own garden harvest); pickled *oseledtsi* ; canned sardines, tuna and/or salmon; dried and/or canned mushrooms (picked locally); fresh fruit from cold storage in a root cellar (ie. apples, oranges, pears, etc.); dried fruit (apples, pears, prunes, apricots, peaches, pineapples, raisins, currants, etc.); herb teas (picked locally); purchased tea, coffee, cocao, salt, pepper, spices, sugar, honey and baking ingredients; rice; *olii* (produced from domestically grown hemp seeds); milk and milk products

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[1] Woodsworth, Op. cit., pp. 98-102 confirms that the Ukrainian diet improved in Canada particularly with respect to the regular consumption of white bread, meat, eggs, dairy products and tea/coffee throughout the year.

*All of the informants mentioned that the longer they were in Canada, the less important the dietary restrictions became during both Advent and Lent.

(*huslianka* (soured milk), butter, buttermilk, sweet cream, sour cream, cream cheese, etc.); fresh, canned, smoked and/or frozen pork and pork meat products; fresh and/or canned chicken; eggs; and wild game (primarily rabbit).* From these foodstuffs and ingredients, the following dishes and food products were typically prepared: *borshcht* (using either a pork or vegetable base**); *kapusniak* (using either a pork, soured cabbage or sauerkraut base); chicken soup with either home-made noodles or rice; other vegetable soups requiring either a pork or vegetable base (usually potatoe, bean and pea soups); pork and pork products (smoked ham and/or bacon, *kobasa* , *sal'tseson* , *studenets* , *kyshky* , etc.); chicken (either boiled or baked with a stuffing); wheatmeal, oatmeal and/or cornmeal *kasha* (porridge); wheat or rye flour breads; *nachenka* (a puffed cornmeal spoonbread); potatoes (roasted, boiled, mashed or re-fried); turnips, squash and/or beans (boiled or mashed); beets and/or mushrooms (boiled or fried); carrots and/or peas (boiled); onions and/or garlic (fried and/or added as flavouring); pickled cucumbers and pickled beets; soured cabbage and saurkraut (boiled or fried); *holubtsi* (with buckwheat, barley, cornmeal, rice, and rice and meat fillings); *pyrohy* (with potatoe, potatoe and cheese, cheese, sauerkraut, fruit, ground meat and ground fish fillings); *oseledtsi* (usually served without additional preparation from the barrel); canned fish; eggs (boiled or fried); dairy products (butter and cheese mainly); jams and preserves; herb teas; as well as, salt, pepper, tea, coffee and other purchased condiments.*

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*Any or all of these various foodstuffs and food products were mentioned by all of the informants.

**The *syrvatka* base was not used during the period under review. No specific reasons were given by the informants. It is undoubtedly probable that other " richer " bases were more readily available.

While all of the above mentioned foodstuffs and dishes were prepared throughout *Pylypivka* (and indeed, throughout most of the year) by the Ukrainians in East Central Alberta during the farming period, certain restrictions continued from the old country with respect to the appropriateness and/or methods of preparation of these food products on the designated (voluntary) days of fasting - namely Wednesdays and Fridays. As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, no meat, meat products, eggs or dairy products were consumed on these days. Further, in the preparation of the allowable remaining foodsuffs, the use of butter (and other dairy products) and/or *smalets* (usually bacon fat) were avoided completely. For example:

> " I remember no meat [on Wednesdays and Fridays]. . .Mama pekly palanytsi z makom. . .' makivnyky '. . .it meant just flour and water. . .i tam maku namishyly, i my to sho iily sho azh zuby malo sho! You know, bo to palanytsi, its got no lard, nothing in it. . .ino same tisto. . . but for us it was delicious because we were hungry!. . .and sometimes we even poured canned syrup over it for a special treat! "[1]

> " I remember no meat [on Wednesdays and Fridays]. . .Mother used to bake these flat cakes with poppy seeds. . .' makivnyky '. . .it meant just flour and water, and some poppy seeds mixed in, and we used to eat that so your teeth used to [almost break]! You know, because it was a flat cake, its got no lard, nothing in it except dough. . .but for us it was delicious because we were hungry!. . .and sometimes we even poured canned syrup over it for a special treat! "

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*All of the informants mentioned any or all of these dishes and food products which were consumed during *Pylypivka* , indeed regularly throughout most of the calendar year.

[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

As a result, the diet on Wednesdays and Fridays during the period under review consisted primarily of bread, canned or pickled fish, soups prepared on a vegetable base, *holubtsi* and *pyrohy* prepared without meat and/or dairy products, raw vegetables which were either boiled or fried in *olii* , pickled vegetables, fruit which was either fresh or dried, and, various teas and coffee.* While the menus may have varied from household to household during the period under review, with the passage of time and as each individual family's financial and food resources steadily improved, the church-prescribed dietary restrictions for *Pylypivka* became increasingly less important observances for the families concerned. As such, many of the old country dietary restrictions defining a *pist* for some of the families - became increasingly voluntary efforts which continued to be observed as long as it was not too inconvenient to do so.[1]

Social Activities/General Activities

The observance of a community-wide abstention from public displays of dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities during *Pylypivka* brought family and neighbourly socializing indoors. While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn *Pylypivka* coincided with the onset of winter and the preparations associated with settling one's household, farm holdings, livestock, harvest and produce for the winter, in East Central Alberta,

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*All of the informants mentioned any or all of these foodstuffs and/or food products which were consumed on the designated days of fasting during *Pylypivka* . This underlying assumption of a balanced and plentiful diet throughout *Pylypivka* is emphasized in " Pylypivka " in Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Na Storozhi Kul'tury (On the Vanguard of Culture), (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Company of Canada, 1947), pp. 45-6.

[1] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

Pylypivka was a relatively quiet and inactive period for most families as all of the winterizing activities would have already been completed in the early fall immediately following the harvest (as it was during the initial homesteading period). As a result, winter socializing once again became an important pastime between family, friends and neighbours during the farming period under review. Due to the increased leisure time available, as well as, the increased physical means (such as transportation equipment, roads, etc.) neighbours and family, at last, were able to visit each other to socialize.[1] When they visited eachother's homes during *Pylypivka* , Ukrainians took part in a number of socializing activities which included: talking/gossiping, singing, eating, drinking, smoking, playing cards+, playing cribbage, playing instruments, having pot luck suppers, and the like[2] - much as they would have during any other time of the year when time and circumstances permitted. For example:

> " . . .Homes at that time used to be more open too!. . .A visitor. . .strangers were never turned away from father's house. . .even if all you had in the house was bread (baked in the *pich*) for hospitality with butter or jam and tea! We always had something to offer to anyone who came by. . ."[3]

Further:

> " . . .Homes were a lot more open then and a lot of visiting occured because you didn't wait for invitations, you just picked up and went to visit! "[4]

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #2, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

+ Card games typically enjoyed by the Ukrainians of East Central Alberta included " Hola " (a type of canasta) and " Kyn' Pidro " (a type of eucre).

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, William Chillibecki, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 120.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

Winter in Alberta, just as in Galicia, was a relatively quiet and inactive period work-wise when compared to the outdoor labour intensive periods associated with spring, summer and/or fall fieldwork (with their related and resulting tasks and activities). As a result, a number of the time-consuming domestic activities, usually requiring concentrated and collective effort, were transferred to the winter period - including *Pylypivka* . The types of activities participated in included: feather-tearing which was known as " derty piria "[1] (for the making of down filled pillows and quilts); spinning wool which was known as " priasty nytky "[2] (for knitting); carding wool which was known as " skubaty vovnu "[3] (to ready it for spinning); and, sewing, quilting, and embroidering.[4]

When a number of neighbouring women (married or single) gathered at a particular home to take part in any of the activities described in the previous paragraph, the gathering was known as a " toloka " (as it was in the old country). And just as in the old country, even though these gatherings were task oriented, *toloka* sessions were also lively socials for the participants involved where they worked, gossiped, caught up on local news, sang songs, joked and told tales together. (See Plate 6) For example:

> " To tak iak ia vzhe tut bula vo na Borshchiv, vzhe bahato bulo liudei, bahato zhinok, tai vzhe to to sklykalysia dekuda. . .Bahato ponakhodylo vzhe, tai vzhe ie farma v farmu vziely, tai to vzhe ie liudy. . .

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Typically, duck, goose and chicken feathers were " torn " from the stiff spines which were then used to stuff ' kovdry ' (comforters) and ' podushky ' (pillows).

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Nancy Samoil, Interview #4, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

> Skhodylysia i vovnu derly, chy skubaly, chy sho. . .i pirie derly. . .I skhodylysia. . .deiaki klykaly. "[1]
>
> " It was when I was already here in Borshchiw. . .already there were a lot of people, a lot of women, and so you could gather here or there. . . A good number would come, and so from farm to farm, you could get people. . .They used to gather to tear wool, or card wool, or whatever. . . and tore feathers. . .And they used to gather. . .a few used to host. "

As in the old country, not every woman within the local farming community hosted a *toloka* because not every household had the room and/or the financial means to do so. The women who helped at a particular *toloka* expected some form of remuneration for their efforts (usually food and/or drink) at the end of such an evening, or, a reciprocal promise of participating at another *toloka* hosted by one of that evening's participants. As a result, much as every woman would have liked to have had help in completing some of her time consuming tasks, not every woman could afford to host one and/or wanted to reciprocate in labour.[2] *Toloka* evenings were not only ' all women ' affairs. Typically, husbands and/or fathers accompanied (ie. drove) their wives and/or daughters to these events and would then socialize amongst themselves in another area of the house to pass the time (usually playing cards)[3] while the women carried out their tasks. Therefore, unlike the *toloka* evenings in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, in East Central Alberta during the period under review, these socials were not opportunities for young unmarried men and/or women to meet and socialize.

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6.

Indoor socializing during *Pylypivka* also included those activities which were participated in by family members throughout the entire year when time and/or circumstances permitted - and never were these activities more acutely remembered than during the winter period when staying indoors was a physical neccessity. After their emigration from Chortkiv and Sniatyn, parents had to take it upon themselves to entertain and/or instruct their children about their Ukrainian heritage (which was something that they did not have to concern themselves with in their native village areas).[1] Families often had " reading" evenings after all of the chores were completed[2], as well as, " singing " sessions to teach the children the various folk songs and carols that they would need to know either in church or during any festive celebrations.[3] Borrowing books from the local Ukrainian community halls, the head of the household often read to his family about Ukraine, the Ukrainians, the Tatars, the Kozaks, etc., thereby teaching his family about who they were and where they came from.[4] Teaching the children Ukrainian songs and carols, on the other hand, prepared them for active participation (which included the various religious and non-religious activities associated with the winter holiday season) within the emerging Ukrainian community of East Central Alberta. There were many fond recollections of parents lining their children up against the wall to ' conduct ' them in the singing of songs![1]

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[1] The Romaniuk family recollections in Holden and District Historical Society, Hemstitches and Hackamores (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1984), p. 625 states that their father (Mary's husband) taught his children to read and write Ukrainian at home. As well, the children were active participants in local school, church and community activities in Borshchiw.

[2] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. These activities are also encouraged in Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., pp. 46-7.

[4] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

While many of the indoor activities during *Pylypivka* within the Ukrainian bloc settlement of East Central Alberta took place within private residences, many activities also took place at the local parish/community halls - just as they did in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. Meetings, functions, gatherings, sessions and drop-ins sponsored by the local clubs, organizations and institutions (both local and provincial) which included the parish council, parish youth clubs and school districts (to name a few) also provided alternative activities for various members of the local Ukrainian community throughout *Pylypivka* .[2] For example:

> " O. . .to my vzhe iak tut buly, tut vzhe na Borshchiv. . .ta tut vzhe poklaly haliu vo, to tut vzhe buly skhodyny! Dlia cheliedy. . .ie. . . predstavlennia maly. . ."[3]

> " Well. . .when we were here already, here in Borshchiw. . .there already was a local community hall, and already there were regular gatherings! For the children. . .yes. . .plays, entertainment. . ."

Further:

> " We used to attend the local hall to learn songs. . .narodni pisni (folk songs). . .plays. . .predstavlennia (performances). . .from these dyrygenty (conductors/masters) from the old country who used to tour the country halls to teach. . .There were quite a few of them at the

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[1] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1. Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) Vol. I (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd.): pp. 235-6 also describes the teaching of *koliady* within families during *Pylypivka* .

[2] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

> Borshchiw Hall. . .When they came, they used to stay at one of the farms while they were there. . . "[1]

Throughout *Pylypivka* , the local parish councils and/or school councils held regular sessions for anyone interested in the area to teach the *koliady* [2] that they would need to know to sing in church during the Christmas period, while celebrating at home, and/or as members of carolling groups which would visit from house to house during the three days of Christmas *sviata* .[3] There were also various activities sponsored by the local school board[4], the local community theatre league[5], local interest groups[6], as well as, the church (ie. meetings, performances, practices, circuit speakers, choir practices, etc.). Most of these activities were typically well attended within the Ukrainian rural communities because they did not conflict with the religious restrictions on social activities during *Pylypivka* . (In practical terms however, there really was nothing else to do and/or to go to within the area. See Plate 7.)

The groups of boys and girls, adolescents, and/or young men and women in the area who were planning to go carolling from house to house as members of specific carolling groups during the upcoming holiday season also had to plan, prepare and/or constuct their props during *Pylypivka* (that is, if they were going to use props). While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, these props included the *koza* , *shopka* , *vertep* and/or *zvizda* (see previous discussion within " Rizdvo " and " Celebratory Activities " in Chapter Two), in East Central Alberta during the period under review, it was primarily the star-prop or " zvizda " which was constructed for use during the Christmas *sviata* .[1] The construction of the *zvizda* was a time consuming project for the various groups concerned which could not possibly be produced at the last minute, thus, it had to be made ready prior to the start of the festive Christmas holiday season during which it was to be used.

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[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[2] Typically, parents taught their children the common *koliady* . It is also quite possible that *koliady* were taught at the summer catechism two week camps held throughout the Ukrainian bloc settlement after the re-establishement of a Ukrainian religious hierarchy in Canada.

[3] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Father Volodymyr Shewchuk, Interview #1. Father Shewchuk was a seminarian at the Mundare Basilian monastary in the 1930's who himself often conducted these teaching sessions at the local parish/ community halls during *Pylypivka* (and at the summer catechism camps).

[4] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6.

[5] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1.

[6] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

Feast Days

While all of the informants retained their original religious affiliations following the re-establishment of their religious hierarchy in Mundare[+], the feast, saint or holy days, which used to be observed in the old country during *Pylypivka* , were never fully re-established or observed in the same manner again. Even though a number of local churches were established and built within the local communities under review (namely Redwater, Slawa, Vegreville, Warwick, Borschiw, and Wostok), none of these churches had their own resident priests. Each local parish had to wait for circuit priests who toured fairly regularly to perform masses, and minister the sacraments. Typically, priests toured each church approximately once a month during the farming period under review.* Further, attendance at these regular religious service tours was determined by the weather and/or road conditions at the time. If it was too cold and/or if the roads were not travellable by horse and sleigh (or horse and wagon), one would not, that is could not, attend a service.**

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[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[+] The Basilian Fathers established a monastary, seminary and church centre in the Mundare area shortly after the turn of this century. The member priests were also the circuit priests who travelled to the local churches holding masses and ministering the sacraments as they were needed. Within a few years, the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate moved to the same site and established an orphanage. Both priests, and nuns, conducted catechism sessions and camps throughout the year within the Ukrainian bloc settlement of East Central Alberta. See also Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada (The University of Manitoba: MA Thesis, 1948).

Of the feast days which were observed during *Pylypivka* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (namely St. Andrew's Day, St. Barbara's Day, St. Nicholas' Day and St. Anne's Day), only St. Nicholas' Day was remembered in any manner on the farms in East Central Alberta, during the period under review. Typically, this day was treated and spent as a Sunday in that one did not engage in serious work (ie. no laundering, ironing, sewing, embroidering, cooking, baking, housecleaning, or washing floors indoors, and, no chopping wood, hauling coal and/or water, making livestock feed or chop, cleaning out and bedding down livestock stalls). Essentially, the only activities undertaken on this day (as indeed, on any Sunday or designated holiday) included minor food preparation, presentation and clean-up (ie. reheating food, setting and clearing the table, washing dishes, etc.), performing the neccessary chores for the upkeep of livestock and/or poultry (ie. feeding, milking, gathering eggs, etc.) and performing those tasks associated with transportation to church and/or visiting (ie. hitching wagons, driving, etc.). As a result, on St. Nicholas' Day, one either stayed at home and entertained visitors or went visiting.* If the feast day fell on a Sunday, and if there was a scheduled service at the local church, one was able to attend mass on that day.[1] St. Nicholas' Day was also celebrated as a church *praznyk* within some of the local parishes, and, it could have also been celebrated as someone's nameday. Each of these aspects with respect to the observance and celebration of St. Nicholas' Day in East Central Alberta is discussed in turn.

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*This situation was described by all of the informants. In addition, it was stated that for emergencies and/or for services required beyond the regular tours to their local churches, one had to go to Mundare to either bring back a priest (ie. for a funeral) or had a service performed there (ie. a wedding).

**There was a general consensus by all of the informants on this circumstance.

The observance and celebration of St. Nicholas' Day in East Central Alberta often coincided with the annual school Christmas Concert (participated in by the children who were attending school at the time).[2] The performance and attendance at these annual school productions (by both the children and parents) imprinted upon the Ukrainian farming families a transformation (the first of many) of what was an annual Ukrainian tradition in Chortkiv and Sniatyn into a Canadian tradition in East Central Alberta. Just as in the old country, children dressed in their Sunday best clothing and, accompanied by their parents, went to their school to perform in the concert that they had been preparing in class. (See Plate 8) The concert program was similar to the one which would have been performed in Galicia. Essentially, it was a mix of Christmas Carols (English ones though), recitations and playlets[3], while a benificent " Santa Claus "[4] replaced *Sviatyi Mykolai* as the distributor of gifts to the children. However, just as in the old country, every parent tried to ensure that their child(ren) received a gift through Santa Claus (regardless of how simple it was, or if the gift was to be shared by more than one family member).[1] It was during this farming period that the notion of observing and/or celebrating Christmas on the 25th of December (as opposed to the 7th of January) was introduced to the school children. New " Canadian " practices (or rather, being taught about new practices in school) were introduced into the Ukrainian farming families' cultural repertoire. The practices introduced included the bringing into one's home a Christmas tree, the hanging of stockings overnight so that Santa could come and fill them with gifts, and, the eating of turkey on Christmas Day.[2] On the whole however, while the children were exposed to these new practices in school, most of them, due to their active involvement within their local Ukrainian church and community institutions, as well as their own parents' ignorance (and therefore, their non-incorporation) of these new ideas within their homes, offset the penetration of these new practices into the homelife of the typical Ukrainian farming family during the period under review. Within the local Ukrainian communities themselves there were active efforts made to recreate the St. Nicholas's Day celebrations as they would have been observed in the old country. At the local community hall[1] old country style St. Nicholas' Day concerts were performed - complete with someone dressed as St. Nicholas to distribute gifts to the children who performed in and/or attended the concert.[2]

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Lilian Czar, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Lilian Czar, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

For a few of the parishes within the Ukrainian bloc settlement of East Central Alberta, St. Nicholas' Day was celebrated as the church patron saint feast day or " praznyk ". Whereas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn *praznyks* + were rotating inter-village church socials with parishioners inviting visitors to their homes afterwards, in East Central Alberta, the parish hall took over this function. Within the various parishes concerned, the women's organization(s) prepared and hosted a sit down banquet dinner for all those who came to worship in church on that day. (See Plate 9) It was primarily a local event within the immediate community - targetted and prepared for one's own parishioners' attendance.*

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[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1. While the Warwick area was a mixed community of Ukrainians and Anglo-Celtics, less than 4 miles north, in the Spring Creek area, the community was almost entirely Ukrainian. As a result, at their local community hall, there were regular Ukrainian " predstavlennia " (literally - perfomances) of which St. Nicholas' Day was one. Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. The Borshchiw hall was also active in organizing concerts, *predstavlennia* , etc. which also included St. Nicholas' Day activities.

[2] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1. Mention was made that within the Romaniuk family (ie. Mary's husband's family) there was a practice wherein *Sviatyi Mykolai* brought gifts to all good boys and girls on *Sviatyi Vechir* after the *Sviata Vechera* . Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 227 mentions a practice whereby children on St. Nicholas's Day wished for/dreamed about the type of gift St. Nicholas would bring to them for *Rizdvo* . See Rudnyckyj, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 165-166 for a selection of (2) songs dedicated to St. Nicholas, and, Vol. II, pp. 498-9 for a third.

+Evenutually, within the Ukrainian bloc settlement area, summer *praznyks* became the highlights of the church calendar year. The largest *praznyk* was hosted out of the Basilian church in Mundare named after Sts. Peter and Paul. As a result, Sts. Peter and Paul Day (celebrated in July) became the focal summer *praznyk* , indeed " ziizd " (literally - a large gathering), for the entire Ukrainian community.

*All of the informants described church *praznyks* as occuring in this manner.

St. Nicholas' Day could have also been celebrated as a nameday.[1] While the observance of namedays during the initial homesteading period was confined to a nuclear family celebration, later on, during the farming period, it approximated its old country character of being a gathering of family and/or friends at the particular person's home with treats and/or liquid refreshments in hand to wish that person a long, happy and healthy life. In East Central Alberta however, they tended, at times, to be a bit mischevious (in a good natured, humourous way). Quite often, pranks were played on people named " Nick ". Examples of the types of pranks played included tying up an individual, letting him remain tied up for a while, and then pouring water over him.[2] Afterwards, the victim was untied and given a gift to make up for the prank.[3] Following the antics, the intimate circle of family and/or friends socialized wherein they ate, drank, talked, sang, told stories, joked, gossiped, etc. much as they would have during any other get-together held during *Pylypivka* , indeed throughout the entire year. Again as in the old country, both adults and children were welcomed at these well wishing celebrations.*

Mention must be made of the observance and celebration of St. Andrew's Day in East Central Alberta during the period under review. While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, St. Andrew's Day was associated with a number of spontaneous social events, fortune-telling and superstitious evenings for the marriageable young men and women in the village area, on the farms in East Central Alberta it was never re-established as an observance/celebration following the initial homesteading years. The reason primarily given for its elimination centred on the absence of an existing spontaneous informal informational social network among the young men and women within the various communities (due to the distance between neighbours, between institutions, and the lack of phones) which could have enabled such a spontaneous practice to continue (and be passed along). Due to the fact that word of mouth communication in the days of no phones was a relatively slow process between the farms in those days[1], the actual lack of speedy communication destroyed the spontaneity upon which the St. Andrew's Day observances were based. Not only did the practice die, it did not even have a chance to establish itself within the Ukrainian bloc settlement area given the structure of land development at the time, the proximity of its institutions, as well as, the lack of quick communication means.[2]

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[1] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[2] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned that during the period under review, namedays were still considered more important than birthdays. It appears that it was the aspect of being able to identify names on the religious calendar that made them tangible and practical for the families concerned.

The observance of feast days during *Pylypivka* evolved even more simplistically as time passed, particularly as people had to rely more on their church calendars instead of their regular attendance at church. In the absence of religious guidance from a parish priest (as there would have been in Chortkiv and Sniatyn), on the farms during the period under review, Ukrainian families observed the best way they knew how (from memory and/or from what their parents told them) when they noticed that a religious feast day and/or holiday was approaching. An example of this situation is the following:

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[1] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1.

[2] St. Andrew's Day observances and celebrations continued in Ukraine during the period under review. For an excellent account of the preparations, beliefs and practices associated with this feast day (as well as other related feast days) see " Sv. Kateryny " (St. Katherine's Day) and " Sv. Andrii-Kalyta " (St. Andrew's Day) in Stepan Kylymnyk, Op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 211-248.

> " You know. . .as much as I know about Ukrainian holidays, and what they mean, I know it's a holiday, and I knew I had to keep it by following my calendar. . .honest. . .You know ' red ' and I know it's a Ukrainian holiday. I couldn't read Ukrainian, but I know it's a holiday and I'm supposed to have a holiday! And that's it honestly. . .and the meanings of each. . .to khto meni rozkazav? (Who was supposed to explain it to me?). Nobody ever explained what they meant or. . .I knew the name and I knew it's a Ukrainian church holiday. . .That's all! "[1]

Rizdvo

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the observance of *Rizdvo* in East Central Alberta during the farming period occured in accordance with the Julian Calendar* and encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period. First, came the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of Christmas Eve or *Sviatyi Vechir* ** (on the evening of the 6th of January). Second, came the observances and celebrations associated with the three feast days of Christmas Day or " Rizdvo " (proper), Boxing Day or " Zbory ", and the Feast of Stephen or

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned that they used to observe the Christmas holidays in accordance with the ' old calendar ' (ie. the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of January). They also mentioned that school break over Christmas time during the period under review extended until after Ukrainian Christmas.

**All of the informants continued to use this nomenclature for Christmas Eve.

" Stefana " (on the 7th, 8th and 9th of January respectively). Both of these periods are described and discussed following.

Sviatyi Vechir

The preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn were essentially the culmination of all of the preparatory domestic activities within an individual household during *Pylypivka* .[1] In East Central Alberta, during the established farming period under review, the preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* did not deviate very much from those preparations completed during the initial homesteading period. That is to say, the preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* were essentially only those specific preparations which needed to be completed before the Christmas Eve observances associated with *Sviatyi Vechir* (and therefore the beginning of the winter holiday season) could begin.* These preparations still began approximately two to three days[2] before *Sviatyi Vechir* and ensured that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the three and half days of Christmas *sviata* stretching from dusk on *Sviatyi Vechir* , through *Rizdvo* (proper), *Zbory* , and ending with the conclusion of *Stefana* .[1] For the men in a family, it meant that all of the heavy labour out of doors had to be completed (ie. cleaning out the stalls, making " chop "[+], providing enough heating and cooking fuel (wood and/or coal) and water for the household, making sure that all of the water troughs for the livestock were not frozen, etc.)[2] and taking care of any last minute errands and/or purchases in town.[3] For example:

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[1] See Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 268-275, and, " Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper " in Mundare and District Historical Society, Memories of Mundare (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980), pp. 51-52 for descriptions of the typical preparations and celebrations observed by a family prior to and through *Sviatyi Vechir* in East Central Alberta. Savella Stechishin, Traditional Ukrainian Cookery (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1976), provides a brief outline of the domestic preparations and observances associated with the Ukrainian winter holidays. Woodsworth, Op. cit., pp. 104-6 also provides a cursory review of *Sviatyi Vechir* and *koliaduvannia* .

*All of the informants mentioned that the preparations completed before *Sviatyi Vechir* were essentially those which were completed before any holy day or *sviata* with the exception of the preparation of certain dishes and foodstuffs associated with the holiday season itself.

[2] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1. Particularly with respect to the food preparations before the Christmas *sviata* , preparing the various dishes and foodstuffs any earlier than 2-3 days prior would have caused spoilage because there were no refrigerators/ice boxes on the farms at that time within the typical Ukrainian household.

> " I can remember that wood was something you always had to have because along with the coal, you needed wood for the stove. . .I remember wood was about the only thing where you had to use some force. . .And it was my job to bring it into the house for the holidays. "[4]

Further:

> " . . .do Sviatoho Vechora, nim do vecheri, to maiem vs'o porobyty. . . potomu na vecheru ishly. . .drov treba bulo narubaty. . .sichku treba bulo khudobi zrobyty, shchoby hotove bulo cherez sviata (til'ky hoduvaty cherez sviata). . .My vse napered robyly shchob vs'o hotove bulo. . . navit' vuhlia. . .to maie buty vs'o hotove. "[5]

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[1] Lilian Czar, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[+] Whereas " chop " in the old country was made from chopped grain stalks, in Canada, it was made from chopped grain - usually ground oats and/or barley (for the pigs, poultry, horses and cattle).

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 240-7 also mentions the importance of ensuring that certain purchases were completed prior to the commencement of the Christmas holidays. These purchases included dried fruit, sugar, rice, dried fish, candles, incense, flour and alchohol.

[4] Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

[5] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

> " . . .by Christmas Eve, prior to the *Sviata Vechera* , everything is supposed to be done. . .after [all the tasks] everything, then we went for supper. . .the wood had to be chopped, the chop had to be made for the cattle, so that everything was ready for the holidays (so that you only fed [the livestock] during the holidays). . .We had to finish everything beforehand so that everything would be ready. . .even the coal. . .everying had to be ready. "

Essentially all that the men did during the *sviata* were those chores associated with feeding and maintaining the livestock, transporting their families to church and/or visiting, and also acted as hosts when visitors came to their homes (ie. primarily served drinks).[1] For the women in a family, preparing for the Christmas *sviata* meant that all of the heavy labour indoors had to be completed (ie. food preparation, housecleaning, laundering, scrubbing down the floors, readying the families' festive clothing, and ensuring that everyone in the household was bathed/clean for the holidays, etc.).[2] Essentially, all that the women had to do through the holidays was reheat the food which was prepared, watch over the children, as well as, attend to the minor daily housekeeping chores.[3] Some women also began, to a limited degree, in decorating the interior of their homes for the *sviata* . For example:

> " Mother, in the winter, always made new flowers and put them ' mizhy obrazy ' (between the holy pictures) between all the holy pictures on the walls. . .Isus KHrystos (Jesus Christ), Matir Bozha (Mary the mother of God). . .all along the top of the wall and in between on the south and east walls in the corner where the table and lavky (benches) were - away from the stairwell. . .She made crepe paper roses and flowers and was quite good at them. . .in bouquets and strands. . .all colours and leaves in between and buds. . . The colours were pink,

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] William Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

> white, yellow, red, orange. . .any colour and greenery! Yes, mother made new flowers before Christmas and before Easter, and reused the wires. "[1]

There were, in addition, tasks for the young children in a family before the *sviata* . These tasks included the picking over of wheat kernels (to clean it of chaff, wild grains or weeds)[2] which was known as " obpykhaty pshenytsiu "[3] (literally - to roll the kernels). During this process, children also rolled and picked at the kernels to remove the outer bran.* After it was picked over[4], the wheat was then soaked, at the very least, overnight prior to *Sviatyi Vechir* before it could be boiled and made into *kutia* .[5] The children also typically brought in the holiday water, wood and/or coal supply into the house.[6] With what was allowable and/or appropriate with respect to what could or could not be done during the Christmas *sviata* during the period under review, the three and a half days of *sviata* were essentially treated and spent (as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn) as a series of Sundays, that is, they were observed as a series of days of rest.[7] As a result, these preparations allowed for the leisurely visiting between family members and friends. In fact, everything had to be prepared and cleaned both inside and outside the house because each household expected/believed that it would do some entertaining through the Christmas *sviata* .[*]

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[1] Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

*In most households, the outer bran coating of the wheat kernels was removed so that when the wheat was boiled, it would be soft when chewed. Some households however, boiled the wheat kernels with their intact bran coating. When boiled, these grains were crunchy when chewed.

[4] Kyriak, Op. cit., pp. 248-9 describes an *Andreia* -type observance practiced by the unmarried women within a family whereby a handful of wheat kernels was paired. If the last kernels were paired, it meant that the girl performing this ritual would be married in the new year, however, if the last kernel was unpaired, the girl would remain single.

[5] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[6] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

[7] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Perhaps the most important of all of the tasks which had to be completed prior to the beginning of *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* , was the preparation of the dishes and foodstuffs which were to be consumed during the *Sviata Vechera* and afterwards throughout the three days of *sviata* .[1] Typically, certain meat products, certain dairy products, bread[+], and special sweets were prepared for the Christmas *sviata* . The items which were prepared varied from household to household, however, the typical food items prepared included *kobasa* [**], *sal'tseson* (or *mats'ok*) and *studenets* (or *hyshky*) for the meat products[2], butter and sweet/ sour creams as the dairy products[3], a few loaves of white bread[***], and

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[*] All of the informants mentioned that the Christmas *sviata* were one of the most active visiting/social periods during the calendar year.

[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[+] It is interesting to note the order of baking items in a *pich* . Typically, bread was baked first in a hot oven to allow for one time baking, whereas other items, such as meat, holubtsi, etc. were baked/cooked afterwards in a cooler oven as these things could be reheated as required.

[**] While the recipe(s) for making *kobasa* (as well as the other meat products) remained virtually the same in East Central Alberta as those prepared in the old country, the casings could either be purchased, sewn from old waxed sacks, or, made from cleaned intestines. The method(s) of cooking also changed slightly. In Canada, the smoking process was modified wherein damp willow branches were used in the coal stoves while the *kobasa* was hung in the actual chimney of the stove and smoked for approximately 3-4 hours. If that time was not enough to cook the sausage completely, the *kobasa* was then placed in a shallow pan in the oven to bake for an additional 1-2 hours. The *kobasa* (or indeed any of the other meat products) was then stored either in the summer kitchen or lowered into the well and rested on top of the ice.

[2] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[***] All of the informants mentioned that during the period under review their families had white bread as the staple bread loaf within their households.

pampukhy , *khrustyky* (or " ears "), *pyrizhky* * (tiny pastry pockets), and pies** of every description as the sweets.[1] Except for the *khrustyky* , *pyrizhky* and pies, the foods which were prepared for the *sviata* during the period under review did not differ markedly from those which were prepared in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (for recipes and methods of preparation of the various holiday dishes and/or foodstuffs see " Sviatyi Vechir " in Chapter Two). What was markedly different however, with respect to the preparation of food for the *sviata* , was the contrast in the relative financial ease with which quantities were prepared in comparison to the meagre amounts which were barely afforded in the old country. This was primarily due to the Ukrainian farmers' increased resources.[2] As a result, these improved circumstances were conducive to the conveyance of prosperity and goodness which symbolized the meal itself[3], and every

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*All of the informants mentioned, that while they knew of these sweets in the old country, it was in Canada that they started to cook these specialties in any quantity for special occasions (primarily due to the cost of the ingredients). *Khrustyky* or " ears " were light pastries made from an egg rich buttery white flour dough. When fried in oil, the pastries looked like floppy ears (hence the name). They were then sprinkled with either granulated or icing sugars. *Pyrizhky* were tiny *pyrohy* -shaped pastry pockets which were filled with either sweetened poppy seeds, raisins or prunes and then deep fried in oil.

**Pies of every description, from fruit fillings to fillings of chocolate, banana, lemon, butterscotch and coconut (which were purchased from the 'Watkins' or 'Raleigh' companies' door to door salesman) became popular very quickly among the Ukrainian cooks in East Central Alberta because they were fast and easy (dessert) dishes to prepare. Essentially, there was a minimal amount of fuss required to prepare the crust, and every farm had its own milk and sugar ingredients to add to the filling mix itself.

[1] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[2] Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 352 mentions that within a few years most Ukrainian farming families were able to supply their own beef, dairy products, ham/pork, chickens, ducks, geese and eggs.

[3] Lilian Czar, Interview #1.

family tried to do the best that they could to have the most that they could afford[1] (from food, to linens, to dishes, to clothes, etc.).

With respect to the foods which were consumed on *Sviatyi Vechir* , little changed from what was prepared either in Chortkiv and Sniatyn or during the initial homesteading years, except perhaps for the quantities and varieties of food, as well as, the ingredients which could have been added to the basic dishes and/or foodstuffs known in the old country. Since *Sviatyi Vechir* fell on the last day of *Pylypivka* , all of the dishes and foodstuffs which were prepared for the *Sviata Vechera* were meatless and milkless[2] (regardless of the day of the week that *Sviatyi Vechir* fell on), that is, the meal was prepared " . . .bez miasa, bez zhadnoho masnoho "[3] (. . .without meat, without any animal fats and/or dairy products). However, for many families during the period under review, their only requirement for the dishes which were to be prepared for the *Sviata Vechera* was that they be meatless. As a result, dishes containing dairy products were allowed.[4] While it was known that ideally, twelve different dishes were supposed to be prepared for the evening meal*, during the farming period in East Central Alberta, most families prepared what few dishes they could afford to prepare[1], in the quantities that they were capable of producing (or needed to produce), and with whatever extras they were able to include.[2] Most families prepared enough food for the number of family members which were to be present at the evening meal, with a bit extra for the stranger who might happen to pass by their home.* While the menu may have varied from household to household, one dish, *kutia* , was prepared in all homes - just as it was in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. A typical menu for the *Sviata Vechera* during the period in question included a selection of any combination of the following dishes and/or foodstuffs:[3] *kutia* ; *borshcht* ; *holubtsi* (at least two types of fillings); *pyrohy* (at least two types of fillings); mushrooms; fish[4] (at east two types); sauerkraut; beans; peas; beets; root vegetables; bread; a circular braided bread loaf known as a " kolach " (either one for the centre of the table or two for each end of the table);[5]

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[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. Many families continued to produce their own *olii* in Canada from their own hemp crops. Approximately 1 bushel of seeds was processed into 1 quart of *olii* . The *olii* was then stored for use especially during the designated days of fasting during *Pist* and was the primary cooking oil used for the preparation of the *Sviata Vechera* . As well, most families had their own poppy seeds from their own poppies.

[3] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[4] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Lilian Czar, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this. See also Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, Op. cit., p. 53, and, Stechishin, Op cit., p. 22 for suggested menus for the *Sviata Vechera* .

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

*All of the informants mentioned that they did not ever recall non-family members at the *Sviata Vechera* evening meal because it was viewed that everyone had their own families that they could be with during the holidays on the farms.

[3] Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, mentions that the following dishes and foodstuffs were prepared: *kutia* , fried fish, jellied fish, fried mushrooms, beans, stewed prunes, *pyrohy* with sauerkraut or prune fillings, *holubtsi* , " makivnyk " (a type poppy seed rolled cake) and " knysh " (a type of vegetable stuffed bread loaf). See also Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 51-2 for menu options which were available to the Ukrainian farmer during the period under review.

[4] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Fresh fish was usually purchased from vendors who travelled from door to door in the farming areas just before the Christmas *sviata* . Typically two types of fish were purchased. " Jack " was used for making *studenets* , and " Whitefish " or " Pike " were used for either stewing, poaching, frying or baking.

[5] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

sushenie ;[1] *pampukhy* ; and, tea and/or alcohol - either home-made+ or purchased (usually some wine).[2] (For recipes and methods of preparation of these food items, see " Sviatyi Vechir " in Chapter Two). During the period under review however, variations in the *Sviata Vechera* menu/ingredients list appear. Apricot puree as an accompanying condiment for *pyrohy* was introduced instead of the typical dressing of fried onions in *olii* .[3] As well, sliced fresh fruits (usually apples) were added into the *kutia* for extra texture.[4] However, within other households, dairy products (usually cream and/or cheese) were incoporated into the preparation of the various dishes and/or foodstuffs.[5]

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Sviatyi Vechir* itself was spent as a fasting day.[6] This was done because it was the last day of *Pylypivka* , however, it was also done to prepare oneself for the full enjoyment and appreciation of the *Sviata Vechera* evening meal.* Not everyone in a family fasted. Unlike the old country where children up to approximately fourteen years of age did not fast because they were considered by their parents to be too young to tolerate a fast, during the farming period under review in East Central Alberta, children from approximately ten or eleven years of age were allowed to fast. This was allowed for two reasons. First, because every member of the family enjoyed a well balanced diet throughout *Pylypivka* (and indeed, throughout the entire year) a one day fast was not perceived as being unusually harsh. Second, fasting took on a different form in Canada. Unlike the old country where fasting for most individuals meant the complete abstinence from food and drink for the entire day, in East Central Alberta during the period under review, fasting meant simply abstaining from meat and/or rich food after a light breakfast until the *Sviata Vechera* evening meal.[1] Family members were also allowed to drink water, fruit juice, coffee and/or tea through the entire day.[2] As in the old country, fasting ended at dusk (which at that time of the year was approximately 4 p.m.).[3] So in reality, even if one did fast, it was an early supper anyway!

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #4, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Dried fruit fell into the same category as hard candies and nuts, etc. These were special occasion treats purchased over 2-3 months before the holidays a little at a time. While admittedly, the families were better off in Canada with respect to their day to day food supplies (when compared with the old country), they still had to save to purchase those expensive and special treats that the entire family enjoyed infrequently.

+Most of the informants mentioned that it was quite common for most families to have their own recipes for making home brew (such as beer, spirits distilled from beets, potatoes, etc.).

[2] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Within the Romaniuk family.

[4] Within the Chillibecki family.

[5] Within the Kostash family.

[6] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned these reasons for fasting on *Sviatyi Vechir* . Stechishin, Op. cit., p. 17 and Mundare and District Historical Socitey, Op. cit., p. 151 also stipulate that fasting on *Sviatyi Vechir* was observed to commemorate the hardships endured by Mother Mary en route to Bethlehem.

As dusk approached, everyone in the family eagerly waited for father and the boys to bring in and arrange a sheaf of bound unthrashed grain[1], and some hay (or straw) in the house.[2] As in the old country, these items were brought into the house as symbols representing the birth of Christ in a manger.[3] For example:

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Lilian Czar, Interview #1, and, Sofia Gara, Interview #1.

[2] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[3] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

> " We had a *diduch* at home with hay in every room all over the floor!. . . because Jesus was born in a manger. . .so the hay was brought in. . .and after Christmas. . .after the three days of Christmas. . .we'd burn it and jump over it! "[4]

The sheaf, during the period under review, was referred to simply either as a " snip "[5] (literally - a sheaf) or as a " did-snip "[6] (literally - a grandfather sheaf), whereas the hay and/or straw which was strewn on the floor and/or under the tablecloth was collectively referred to simply either as a " diduch "[*] (literally - a little grandfather), " soloma "[**] (literally - straw), or as " sino "[***] (literally - hay). The *snip* , when it was brought into the house was still placed in the corner or " pokuttia " of the main room at the meeting point where the benches surrounding the dining table touched as it was in the old country (see Diagram 3). However, it could have also being placed in any vacant corner of the house where it wouldn't be knocked over.[7] The meaning of the sheaf carried into the period under review in that it was brought in to help ensure a good crop in the upcoming harvesting season.[1] The *didukh* , when it was brought into the house, was thickly strewn under the dining table and benches and was also thinly strewn under a white tablecloth.[2] Admittedly, the *didukh* was brought into the house not only for the meaning it had, but also for the enjoyment of the children. For example:

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[1] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 105 states that a sheaf composed of the various grains cultivated on one's farm represents the bounty of the agricultural seasons.

[2] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[4] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[5] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[6] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[*] All of the informants mentioned this.

[**] Ibid.

[***] Ibid.

[7] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

" IE. . .ie. . .my khodyly [za snipom, sa sinom]. . .bo ia vzhe mav khloptsia shcho vzhe mih buv kachatysia po tim. . .I ia nosyv iomu na trokhy shchoby vin rozbavyvsia! "[3]

" Yes. . .yes. . .we went [for the sheaf, for the hay]. . .because I already had a son who was old enough to roll around in it. . .And I brought it in for him so that he could play in it! "

Or:

" IE. . .ie. . .bulo sino. . .porozkyduvaly. . .tak rozsteliuvaly to vs'o. . . "[4]

" Yes. . .yes. . .there was hay. . .scattered all over. . .that is, it was strewn everywhere [in the house]. . ."

Further:

" Yes. . .I even remember mother telling father ' Nu, ta idy prynesy sina do khaty ' (Well, go out and bring some hay into the house) on *Sviatyi Vechir* . . .And it was even a special type of hay called ' Broom Grass '. "[5]

And:

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[1] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[4] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[5] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

" . . .Sino do khaty prynosyly. . .We had a ' did-snip ' in the corner and sino pid stolom. . .It got all over the whole house because the kids liked playing in it. . .dity brykaly, ta to khovalysysia. . .and they [the parents] used to hide things in the hay. . ."[1]

" . . .Hay was brought into the house. . .We had a ' did-snip ' in the corner and hay under the table. . .It got all over the whole house because the kids liked playing in it. . .the children played in it, and used to hide in it . . .and they [the parents] used to hide things in the hay. . ."

The practice of children in a family performing like clucking brooding hens while the *diduch* was being strewn over the floor under the dining table and benches re-emerged within the Ukrainian farming households during the period under review in East Central Alberta following the initial homesteading period.[2] It was believed that participating in this ritual helped one's hens lay more eggs.[3] For example:

" . . .tato [cholovik] prynis vzhe tam sia roztelyly. . .to ia ditiam skazala . . .kazhu " Kvokaite! Ta zh budut kvochky kvokaty! "[4]

" . . .father [my husband] brought it in already [the hay] and placed it [on the floor]. . .and then I told the children. . .I said " Cluck! So that the hens will cluck [lay]! "

Further:

" I remember that mother used to use that hay and set it out under the table. . .And I asked her why she had to use that hay. . .And she said that [it was so that] all the chicks should hatch from under it. So it was for fertility, eh? "[5]

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.

[3] Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 105.

[4] Nandy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer.

[5] Sofia Gara, Interview #1. Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 51 mentions that the sheaf of wheat brought into the home on *Sviatyi Vechir* represented the fertility of the land.

Although the placement of a metal object in the *didukh* continued in East Central Alberta during the initial homesteading period, it was eliminated from the family repertoire during the period under review. The reasons for this were not known by the informants, however, it may have resulted due to the continuation of the practice of burning the *didukh* (with its ritual of jumping through the flames which was performed for the same reason as having the metal in the hay), and therefore, the practice could have been seen as a duplication. Or, it is quite possible that the abundance of hens within the typical Ukrainian farming family's holdings may have tempered the neccessity of the ritual itself.

The bringing in of the *did-snip* and the *didukh* signalled to everyone within the family that the hard work for the day was nearly over and that the holidays were about to begin. As everyone washed up and changed into their holiday attire, mother and the girls finished up the food preparations for the *Sviata Vechera* and set the table.[1] The practice of setting an extra place setting at the table was adopted in Canada by some families during the period under review primarily for the possibility of being able to host a hungry stranger should he happen to pass by their home and require assistance.[2] However, within other families, the practice of setting an extra place setting at the table was adopted following marriage as it was a practice from the spouse's repertoires as a method of ensuring that the dearly departed within the families concerned could partake of the *Sviata Vechera* meal with the family during the meal itself.[1] The children were still encouraged to search the dusky sky to see which one of them would spot the appearance of the first evening star.[2] This was actually quite an exciting job for the children because spotting the star meant that it was time to eat! The belief, that whoever spotted the first star on *Sviatyi Vechir* would have good luck in the new year was lost during the period under review.[3] When that first star was sighted, all of the dishes and foodstuffs were placed on the table, the centerpiece candle was lit and all of the members of the family gathered about the dining table to begin the observances for the *Sviata Vechera* .* For example:

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1. See also Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1. Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 51 mentions that a lit candle placed in the window during the *Sviata Vechera* also served to invite any stranger passing by to join the family in their celebration.

> " Ta koly vzhe vechir nastav, vzhe sontse zaishlo, vzhe svichku zasvityly . . .Ta tohdy vzhe skazhut' molytvu. . .Azh vzhe kydaiut' pshenytsiu do hory. . .Azh todi vzhe sidaiut'. . .IE, tato kydav lozhku pshenytsi do steli, a dity lapaly v lozhtsi. . ."[4]

> " In the early evening, just after sunset, and when the candle was lit. . .At that time, a prayer was said. . .And after the *kutia* was flung up. . .Then we sat down to eat. . .Yes, father tossed a spoonful of *kutia* to the ceiling, and the children used to catch it with [their] spoons. . ."

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[1] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 270-1 describes a practice whereby additional spoons are left on the table during the *Sviata Vechera* so that the dead members within a family could partake of the meal during the meal. Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 51 also states that an extra place setting was set at a table for that living member of the family who was unable to make it home for the *Sviata Vechera* .

[2] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[3] Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

*All of the informants described a generally similar sequence of events immediately before the *Sviata Vechera* .

[4] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, if the stars were not visible because of overcast skies, the lighting of the first light indoors signalled the time for the family to gather about the dining table to begin the observances for *Sviatyi Vechir* .*

After everyone gathered around the dining table, but before sitting down to eat, the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father), usually led by the head of the household, was said aloud.** At the end of the prayer, everyone present sat down for supper. Typically, it was the head of the household who usually first started to partake of the various dishes and foodstuffs prepared.[1] For example:

> " When everything was on the table, mother would first put the *kutia* in front of dad, and dad would take his spoon and make a cross in the wheat. . .then he would take a little bit of the wheat on the spoon and tossed it up and we all held out our hand to see who caught the most wheat kernels. . .whoever caught the most wheat kernels would have a very lucky and prosperous year. . .So, we used to count the kernels to see who caught the most kernels! "[2]

The practice associated with not getting up from the table for any reason once everyone sat down to eat was carried on during the period in question (and for the same reason). For example:

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants mentioned this. Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 269-270 describes a ritual whereby the head of the household, recited the 50th Psalm (True Worship) while burning incense, and, went about blessing his house, property and stables. During this process, the members of the family prayed about the dining table laden with food.

[1] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1, and, John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

" Kazhut', iak vstanesh vid vecheri borshe, to kurochky budut' vstavaty [z iaiets]! Kurochky ne budut' sydity. "[1]

" They say, that if you get up from the supper before it's finished, then the hens are going to get up [from their eggs]! The hens won't brood. "

Further:

" I remember that once you sat down, you couldn't get up until supper was finished. . .no matter what! Baba said. . .' SHCHo kurochky budut' dobre sydity ' (That the hens will lay well) "[2]

While sitting through this rather leisurely and lengthy supper may have seemed a bit tedious for the members of the family - it was not. Even the children somehow sat through this supper. Because they had heard so much about it from their parents, they looked forward to it, did their best, and were on their best behaviour to sit through the supper without incident.[3]

The observance of *Sviatyi Vechir* during the farming period in East Central Alberta continued to be regarded as an important family celebration to which it was expected every family member would attend.[4] The reasons for its importance however, were unclear. For most families, it appears that no one would be doing anything else that night (and over the holidays for that matter) if not spending it, (or wanting to spend it) with their families.[5] For example:

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[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. See also Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., pp. 49-50.

[5] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, William Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

> " It's funny. . .You sort of grow up with something, and you never really question it I guess. . .It seemed that we did it every year and that it was important that we were all there. "[1]

Actually, it was also a case wherein no family member was going to be away from home during the winter holiday season[2] (for that matter, no one really went away from the farm generally throughout the year[3]). Everyone had their own families to be with, and as such, there were no non-family members ever recalled at the *Sviata Vechera* evening meal.[4] Families were also larger during the period under review, and typically, there was no extra room at the table to accomodate guests at that particular meal.[5] In addition, the distances between farms were fairly great, and as a result, spontaneous invitations for dinner did not occur.*

In addition to the deliberate efforts made by all family members to be present for *Sviatyi Vechir* , every effort was also made to spend that day quietly and peacefully in much the same manner as the day was spent in the old country (see previous discussion under " Sviatyi Vechir " in Chapter Two).**

In East Central Alberta during the period under review, the practice of flinging the *kutia* up to the ceiling before commencing to eat continued to be observed, however, its meaning(s) were obscure.[1] For example:

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[1] Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[4] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[5] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #2.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**Ibid.

" IE. . .tato kydaly, a my lovyly lozhkamy "[2]

" Yes. . .father flung it, and we used to catch [the kernels, etc.] with our spoons "

Again, just as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, what and how much *kutia* stuck to the ceiling or was caught by the members of the family sitting at the dining table[3], determined/predicted what was going to be best produced/harvested in the new year or who in the family was going to be the most fortunate in the new year.[4]

While the *kutia* was special in its precedence during the *Sviata Vechera* , as well as, its associated rituals, the rest of the dishes and foodstuffs had no such distinction and were eaten in due course during the meal.* The end of the meal was signalled by the spontaneous singing of Christmas carols or " koliady " at the table just as it was in the old country.[5] Typically, *koliady* were started by anyone sitting at the table (usually the head of the household[6]), and then, everyone who was present joined in.[1] Just as in the old country, the singing of *koliady* often continued intermittently throughout the rest of the evening amidst the various activities in which the family members participated.[2] For example:

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[1] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1.

[2] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[4] Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 105 states that the dish " kutia " represents the bounty of the land itself.

*All of the informants mentioned this. Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 105 mentions that if someone should happen to sneeze during the *Sviata Vechera* , it was a good luck sign. That person was congratulated by the head of the household and promised the first colt or calf born in the spring.

[5] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, William Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[6] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> " . . .After the *Sviata Vechera* everyone would carol ' Boh Predvichnyi ' (God Eternal) and as we carolled, dad would give us money. . .ten to twenty-five cents. . .just like when people used to come to us to sing. . . He paid them too. . .There were other carols too: ' Nebo i zemlia ' (The Heavens and the Earth) and ' Na nebi zirka ' (In the Heavens is a Star) . . .Dad taught us the carols because dad knew the words. . .' Vo Vyflyiemi ' (In Bethlehem). . ."[3]

Following the *Sviata Vechera* , the children enjoyed primarily indoor activities. Typically, they rough-housed by playing in the *diduch* [4] (which by evening's end usually made its way through the entire house) or entertained themselves quietly (ie. colouring, reading etc.).[5] The practice of placing loose change, candies, jelly beans and/or nuts in the *didukh* resumed during the period in question as the parents could now afford to do so in a manner similar to that practiced in the old country.[6] Further, the amounts placed in the *diduch* steadily increased as the families' financial circumstances improved.[1] Usually, these items were placed in the *diduch* for the children when they were not looking (as they were carolling after the *Sviata Vechera* for example).[2] The eventual mess which was created by the children playing in the hay was generally appreciated by the children's mother because it meant that she did not have to sweep the floors during the three days of *sviata* that the hay remained on the floor. In actuality, the hay provided a protective cover for the floor from snow, water and mud which would have been tramped in by the family, visitors and/or carollers during the *sviata* .* The practice of taking *kutia* and/or other leftover foodstuffs from the *Sviata Vechera* by the children within a family to the poorer neighbours did not re-emerge within the Ukrainian communities following the initial homesteading period. It was viewed generally, that every family and every household was at about the same level economically throughout the rural bloc settlement. While no one was rich, no one was believed to be impoverished, and essentially everyone looked to ensure that they had enough for themselves.** Despite the increase (relatively speaking) in a family's personal wealth during the farming period under review, no one, as yet, as compared to the old country, was in the position to be able to donate food for which they themselves had to work so hard.[3] Also, in most instances, the nearest Ukrainian neighbour (to whom such a practice would have held some meaning) was usually a mile or so away - too far for young children to traverse under winter conditions.*

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[1] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1. Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p, 70.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[4] Walter Romaniuk noted that in his wife's family (who also came from Chortkiv county in Galicia), they believed in allowing the children to frolick in the *diduch* so as to ensure that the family would a happy new year.

[5] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[6] The Letwin family history in Lamont and District Historical Society, Along Victoria Trail (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1978), p. 297 confirms that the Christmas traditions of the old country were admittedly followed as closely as was possible on their farm.

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[1] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. This practice was interpretted by many of the informants as an act done for the children in lieu of exchanging gifts at that time.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

*All of the female informants remarked rather humourously about the advantages of leaving hay in the house during the 3 days of Christmas *sviata* .

**All informants agreed/commented on this point.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #2, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

The adolescents within a family also stayed indoors following the *Sviata Vechera* , primarily, because their parents would not let them go outdoors far and/or for extended periods of time on their own during the typically cold conditions which existed at that time of year.[1] House to house carolling with a " koza ", as practiced in the old country following the evening meal, was not re-established in East Central Alberta after the initial period of homesteading+. This was primarily due to the spontaneous nature of the practice which was not possible to replicate because of the widely dispersed farms in the new country. As a result, the adolescents usually stayed home to watch over their younger siblings at play and assisted in readying them for bed, and/or helped their parents with the evening chores.[2]

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*All of the informants mentioned this, however, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 50 states that this practice continued on the farms during the period under review.

[1] Velma Letwin and Frances Gunderson mentioned that their father's sister talked of an ***Andreia*** -type practice on *Sviatyi Vechir* taking place immediately following the evening meal. The girls in the family took their spoons from the supper, went outdoors and clacked them together. It was believed that from whichever direction a dog answered (to the sound produced), or the direction in which the sound travelled - was the direction from where one's intended would come. See also National Filmboard of Canada, Ukrainian Winter Holidays (16mm, Colour, 22 min, 1942) where this observance is re-enacted.

+Woodsworth, Op. cit., pp. 105-6 states that the younger members of the family took a " she-goat " (ie. *koza*) and called on other families to carol. There is further evidence that this practice continued into at least the 1920's in the Vegreville area. See Plate 10 at the end of this chapter.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Lilian Czar, Interview #1.

The women within a family concentrated their efforts indoors following the *Sviata Vechera* . Their activities included tidying up after the evening meal, making provisions to ensure that any carollers and/or visitors to their home during the *sviata* woud be welcomed with food and refreshments, supervised the activities of their chirldren, and performed any last minute preparations before the family could attend church, visit, and/or receive visitors. (ie. laying out clothing, bringing in food from storage, etc.).* The women were also responsible for ensuring that the dearly departed within the family (who it was still believed descended into the family's midst on *Sviatyi Vechir*) were able to partake of the *Sviata Vechera* .[1] For example:

> " Baba said. . .' SHCHo ti sho povmyraly, to mozhe prykhodiet' do stola. . . Voskresaiut'! "[2]

> " Baba said. . .' That those who have died, that maybe they will come to [our] table [ie. to eat]. . .They will arise! "

Further:

> " . . .kazaly, kolys' kazaly lyshyty troshky pshenytsi na stoli bo anhely maly pryity iisty. . .bo holodni!. . .And so mother used to do it. . ."[3]

> " . . .it was said, a long time ago they used to say to leave a little bit of the *kutia* on the table because the angels were supposed to come and eat it . . .because they were hungry!. . .And so mother used to do it. . ."

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 70.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

As a result, while the dishes that everyone ate from were tidied up and cleaned immediately following the evening meal[1], provisions were made so that the dead would be able to eat if they came to visit the family. It appears, that this was also done so that the family members could snack on the food throughout the evening).[2] The practice of leaving the *kutia* and those dishes which were served during the *Sviata Vechera* (either for a few hours or overnight) was maintained in a similar manner as it was in Sniatyn.[3] As well, leaving the *kutia* overnight in a bowl with a spoon so that the dead could come and partake was also maintained as it was in Chortkiv.[4] In addition, the *kolach* with the candle was left to burn itself out until the family went to bed.[5] For example:[6]

> " The candle was allowed to burn itself out on the *kolach* . . .Because light was the staff of life and so you let it burn as long as possible to have a long life. . .Because light is life. . .and they [the parents] never blew the candle out. . .It burned itself out completely. "

The only exceptions to the food left on the table (that is, in those households where food was left on the table after the *Sviata Vechera*) were those items which could have spoiled. That food was put away into cold storage for later use.*

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[1] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1. There was a more obvious reason as to why all of the the food (except for the *kutia*) was cleared away following the *Sviata Vechera* - simply to protect it from the dust of the hay which could have contaminated the food (from the activities of the children playing in it during the evening). Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., p. 52 describes a practice whereby leaving some food on one's plate ensured that there would be no shortage of food in the household in the new year.

[2] Katherine Kubin, Inerview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[3] Lilian, Czar, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, William Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[4] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[5] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. Apparently, candles were made much shorter earlier this century and usually they burned until approximately 12 to 1 a.m. Further, no one usually went to bed any earlier anyway.

[6] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

The men of the household concentrated on outdoor activities following the *Sviata Vechera* . Their main concern was to ensure that their livestock was well fed and comfortable for the night.[1] Just as in the old country, it was still believed during the period under review, that the animals spoke on *Sviatyi Vechir* .[2] And further, because they were able to speak, they were able to tell all those who could or would listen about their living conditions and treatment.[3] After the youngest children were put to bed, the older adolescents and parents talked, carolled and/or read until their bedtime (or until all of the candies, peanuts and treats were eaten).[4]

Following the various activities that were participated in by the members of a family after the *Sviata Vechera* , and, depending on the schedule of services at the local church, as well as, the weather conditions, everyone within the household either went to sleep or readied themselves to attend Midnight Mass.** With the re-establishment of an organized religious presence in East Central Alberta (primarily through the efforts of the Basilian Order based in Mundare), circuit priests regularly travelled to all of the established churches to perform masses over the Christmas period. However, even these regular visits required community effort to transport the priest(s) to and from the local churches. For example:

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 265-6 states that the reason animals are able to speak on *Sviatyi Vechir* is because they helped to keep the newborn Jesus warm in his manger.

[4] Anne Fedoruk, Interviw #1.

**All of the informants mentioned the fact that attendance at their local community church was dependant on the scheduling of the circuit priest. The timing of the Christmas Mass would have been announced at the last service prior to Christmas.

> " To tak bulo. . .Bo to vony z Mundare pryizdyly. Tut shche farmar mysiv iikhaty. To tak, mii pryviz ioho, a vash cholovik maie vidvesty. . .i sviatkuvaly v tserkvi. "[1]

> " It was like this. . .They [the priests] used to come from Mundare. A farmer from our area had to go [and get him]. So for example, if my husband brings him, then your husband takes him back. . .and [that's how we were were able to] celebrate a mass in church. "

Even though through the remainder of the year services were held at the local churches in accordance with the scheduled rounds of the circuit priests, Christmas and the Feast of Jordan Masses were compulsory services held at almost every church - and every effort was made by the local parishioners to attend these services.[2] If it was not possible to conduct a Christmas Mass at every church, an announcement was made by the priest during his last visit prior to Christmas specifying which local church(es) within the district would have services and at what time:

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[1] Nancy Samoil, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] The Chillibecki family is a case in point. The Warwick community did not have its own parish until 1947 (when the old Ukrainian Catholic church in Vegreville was purchased and moved onto a site within the hamlet donated by the Chillibecki family (the site of an old chop mill). Prior to that time, the family travelled to Moskalyk's Church approximately 6 miles west along the Warwick sideroad (which was approximately 4 miles east of Mundare) to attend regular church services. See also Vegreville and District Historical Society, Vegreville in Review (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980), pp. 130, 605, and, Mundare and District Historical Society, Op. cit., pp. 58-60.

> " IAk bulo v dryhii tserkvi, to liudy z tseii tserkvy, tseii parafii iikhaly do toii parafii, abo do toii, abo tuda. Znaiete, tak vono bulo. "[1]

> " When it [the service] was at another church, then the parishioners from this church, went to that church, or to that one, or to another. You know, that's how it was. "

While the attendance of Christmas Mass marked the beginnng of the winter holiday season in the old country, during the period under review in East Central Alberta it continued to be marked by the observance of the *Sviata Vechera* just as it was during the initial homesteading period. The *Sviata Vechera* also marked the beginning of the use of the religious greeting " KHrystos Razhdaiet'sia!. . .Slavite IEho! " (Christ is born!. . .Let us glorify Him!) in lieu of the everyday greeting " Slava Isusu KHrystu!. . .Slava na viky! (Glory be to Jesus Christ!. . .Glory be forever!).*

Rizdvo

While the term *Rizdvo* specifcally meant " Christmas Day ", in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, it continued to be used as the general term describing all three days of the Christmas *sviata* within the Ukrainian bloc community in East Central Alberta during the period under review. While in the old country each of the three days of *sviata* began with the compulsory attendance at a church service, in the rural areas during the farming period this was impossible (even after the establishment of local churches within the rural Ukrainian communities) simply because most of the churches did not have their own resident priests. As a result, daily services could not be performed.[+] Allowing for this religious gap, the three days of *Rizdvo* were typically spent much as they would have been spent in the old country. Family members carried out their minor chores with respect to maintaining their livestock and their home. Socializing either indoors (for the adults) or out of doors (for the children and adolescents) also continued.[*] And many community members participated in sponsored and/or non-sponsored door to door carolling known as " koladuvannia ".[1]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

Socializing (either indoors or outdoors) took up the bulk of the time during the Christmas *sviata* . Just as in the initial period of homesteading, every family made a concerted effort to visit and welcome visitors throughout this period. Further, during this period, Christmas Day also became the day that families attempted to visit either " Dido and Baba "[2] (literally - grandfather and grandmother), other family members and/or close neighbours.[3] If one did not go visiting (due to weather conditions, illness, etc.), the Christmas *sviata* were spent quietly - relaxing around the house, reading and enjoying those special treats that were not normally available in the house during the course of

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[+] It was known by all of the informants that daily religious services were held by the Basilian Fathers at their main church in Mundare.

[*] All of the informants commented on these typical activities of the Christmas *sviata*..

[1] For an excellent overview of the origins, forms, styles, and evolution of Ukrainian Christmas, New Year's and Jordan carols in the old country, as well as, in Canada see " An Introduction to the Ukrainian Winter Folksong Cycle " in Robert B. Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 1-13.

[2] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[3] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Mary Romaniuk, Interview #5.

the calendar year.[1] Children enjoyed the various winter activities that included games in the snow or fun in the *didukh* [2], while the adults entertained visitors who came to their homes (ie. family, friends, neighbours and/or *koliadnyky*). Essentially, socializing during *Rizdvo* was not unlike those socials participated in during *Pylypivka* .

As in the old country, the singing of *koliady* took favoured precedence over most of the other socializing activities during the Christmas *sviata* .[3] The *koliady* which were sung, were the typical religious ones which were sung in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (see " Rizdvo " in Chapter Two for a standard family repertoire of carols), and were essentially those learned at home from parents, from church choir books and by rote from fellow parishioners during church services, visits and sessions at the local church/community hall.* The practice of modifying the lyrics also continued during the period under review[4] (for an example of a modified *koliada* , see " Rizdvo " in Chapter Two).[5] Other activities, which were par-

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[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[2] The Letwin family history in Lamont and District Historical Society, Op. cit. also mentions that skating on the frozen sloughs was another popular winter past-time for children. Skates were typically homemade from pieces of wood and wire wrapped around one's feet. In addition, a stick with a nail on the tip of the foot helped to push the skates over the ice.

[3] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned these various methods by which *koliady* , and indeed Ukrainian folk songs in general, were taught.

[4] 4 jocular *koliada* parodies (with translations and melodies) are included within Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 121-129. Of these, " A vam koliedochka " (For you - this Carol) originated in Chortkiv county.

[5] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #7. This compares with a version sung in Manitoba included within Klymasz, Op. cit., p. 121:

Romaniuk Version	Manitoba Version
Boh predvichnyi hrechku vrodyv	Boh predvichnyi horokh molotyv
Chy na krupy, chy na kashu	To na krupy, to na kashu
A ia liubliu Handziu vashu	A ia liubliu divku vashu
Budu sia zhenyv!	Budu sia zhenyv!

ticipated in indoors also included eating, drinking, talking, singing, joking, telling tales and/or stories, discussing politics, playing cards, playing instruments etc. - much as would have occured during any Sunday get-together with family and friends throughout the year. Occasionally, gifts were exchanged between relatives during visits over these Christmas *sviata* .[1]

During the farming period under review, many of the organized and non-organized activities which took place in Chortkiv and Sniatyn during the Christmas *sviata* were re-established by the Ukrainian farmers within their local communities in East Central Alberta. Essentially, these activities centered on the process of *koliaduvannia* . Typically, *koliadnyky* carolled to solicit donations for the church and/or other community organizations[2] (however, to a lesser extent, some groups were organized for the purpose of earning some extra money for themselves as well).[3] For example:

> " Vzhe potomu, iak troshky bil'she liudei stalo, to. . .bil'she sia zbyralo to koliaduvaty. . .To vzhe ot tam des' shos' poklaly tu tserkvu, tsutku malen'ku. . .tai tak vzhe zakolieduvaly. . .Nu, to tre shos' kupyty do toi

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(God eternal gives life to all buckwheat	(God eternal was thrashing peas
Whether for groats, whether for gruel	Some for groats, some for gruel
I love your daughter Anne	I love your young daughter
I will marry her!)	I will marry her!)

[1] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] William A. Czumer, Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1981), p. 53.

[3] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

> tserkvytsi, bo to nema nicho. . .Tai tak vzhe z tykh hroshi sho koliaduvaly vzhe, to to tam kupyty. . ."[1]

> " After a while, when there were a few more people [in the area]. . .then more would organize to go carolling. . .A small little church was built. . . and from then on there was carolling. . .Well, you needed to buy things for the church because there was nothing in it. . .And so, from the money that was collected, things were purchased. . ."

As in the old country, there were two types of *koliadnyky* . First, there were the carolling groups sponsored by the local community institutions (the church and its affiliated clubs, local organizations etc.) for the sole purpose of soliciting donations.[2] The members of these carolling groups were primarily young adults (either single or married, male or female) from the institutions they represented* (often, these carollers were members of the local choir who had good voices). Typically, they travelled six to eight in a group via one to two horse drawn wagons[3] or sleighs.[4] Second, there were the semi-spontaneous *koliadnyky* who organized groups to entertain the local neighbourhood while earning some extra money for themselves.[5] These latter self-interest groups were made up of local adolescents in the neighbourhood (male and/or female). While in Chortkiv and Sniatyn it was typical for these non-organized carollers to dress themselves in costumes and/or to carry props to add to their entertainment value, in East Central Alberta during the period under review, these practices never re-emerged.* The only accompaniment that carollers had with them were generally either hand bells or star-props.[1] Typically, hand bells were used by the church sponsored carolling groups to herald their arrival outside a house so as to let the household know that it was the church *koliadnyky* coming[2] (quite often, the horses drawing the wagons/sleighs wore belled harnesses in lieu of the carollers themselves having to carry the church hand bells).[3] These groups typically travelled with lanterns on their sleighs, some hay at the bottom of the sleigh to keep their feet warm and blankets to cover up with. As well, both men and women wore their fur coats and carried some wine to help keep them warm.[4] En route, the group members sang for fun, ran behind the sleighs, clapped their hands, etc. to take their minds off of the cold and distances they had to travel between farms.[5] Upon hearing the bells of the arriving *koliadnyky* , the head of the household would open his door and greet the carollers saying " Prosym. Prosym. " (We invite you [in]).[6] In fact, some farmers even greeted the carollers from outside their main door as soon as they heard them coming toward their house.[7] The semi-spontaneous, self-interest carolling groups usually travelled by foot to their immediate neighbours only.[1]

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

*It appears that church and/or community sponsored carolling also had an ulterior motive to bring together young adults of marriageable age to enhance their relationships.

[3] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Lilian Czar, Interview #1.

[4] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[5] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

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*All of the informants mentioned that they never received " vertep " carollers, however, there is evidence that " vertep " troupes carolled door to door for the church in the Mundare area. See Plate 11 at the end of this chapter.

[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #2, and, Sofia Gara, Interview #1.

[4] Sofia Gara, Interview #1.

[5] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[6] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[7] Ibid.

Both types of *koliadnyky* were anticipated during the Christmas holidays.[2] In fact, for most of the informants during the period under review, it appears that Christmas was not Christmas without the carollers coming to their homes to sing the Ukrainian *koliady* . (See Plate 12) For example:

> " People looked forward to *koliadnyky* . . .When they came, they [the household] would ask ' CHy obidaly? CHy vy iily? CHy vy holodni? ' (Have you lunched? Have you eaten? Are you hungry?). . .And if you had something, you laid out a spread. . .and of course a drink. . .and of course money! People used to give what they could. . .one dollar, two dollars. . .And if a group collected forty to fifty dollars [over the entire carolling period]. . .that was a lot. . .Something can be done with that amount. "[3]

Both types of carolling groups often carried with them a star-prop known as a " zvizda "*, which when used, was typically lit and raised to the main window of a house to announce their arrival.[4] This action typically started the carolling process following which the groups would begin to carol while still standing outside the house[5] " pid viknom " (under the window).[6] After that first carol, the *koliadnyky* were invited inside to carol again just inside the main door of the house. Inside, the

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[1] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1.

[2] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[3] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

*All of the informants used this nomenclature for the star-prop.

[4] John Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[5] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[6] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

koliadnyky sang approximately two to four more carols.[1] (Often, the carollers ignored this process and simply knocked and/or rang their bells and walked into a home.[2]) Typically, *koliadnyky* stayed long enough to sing a few carols[3], visit for a while and have something to drink and/or eat.* If there were any visitors within the house, the *koliadnyky* also sang for them.[4] In addition, the number of carols sung depended on whether entire carols (with all their verses) were sung, or if the shortened versions of carols were sung (where a few verses were sung of each).[5] After the carolling, one of the members of the group (and usually a man[6]) recited a well wishing felicitation for the household known as " vinshuvannia ".** For example:

" My vinchuiem Vas	" We wish you well
Z tsymy svitkamy	With these holidays
SHCHo dochekaly.	That you have waited for.
SHCHob provaly	That you may spend them
V shchestim, zdorovliem	In happiness, in health
I mnohaia lit dochekaly! "[7]	And in the hope that you will see many more of them! "

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[1] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[2] Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[3] See Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 17-129 for a selection of 45 *koliady* and *shchedrivky* (with translations and melodies) sung in Canada. Of these, " V gospodarechka odna donechka " (The Master of the House has One Daughter) (pp. 49-50) and " Pered dvoramy vpala rosytsia " (Before All of the Houses the Dew Fell) (pp. 113-14) originated in Sniatyn county.

*All of the informants mentioned that the average length of stay of *koliadnyky* was approximately half an hour.

[4] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[5] Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[6] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

**All of the informants mentioned this. See Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., pp. 72-76 for a selection of 3 *koliady* and 7 *vinshuvannia* texts.

[7] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer. This is similar to the felicitation cited in Kyriak, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 272:

> Vinchuiu vas
> SHCHastiam i zdorovliam
> Ta i z koliadoiu

Or:

" Vinchuiu vas z tsym rozhdestvom KHrystovym shcho by sty prozhyly na mnohaia lit! KHrystos sia Razhdaie! "[1]

" Wishing you in this time of the birth of Jesus Christ that you live many, many years! Christ is Born! "

Further:

" Vinchuiu vas z tsymy svietamy	" I wish for you during these holidays
Dai Bozhe oprovadyty	That God grant you spend them well
Vid Novoho Roku do Bohoiavlennia	From the New Year to the Epiphany
Vid Bohoiavlennia do Voskresenia	From the Epiphany to Easter
Vid Voskresenia do sto lit!	From Easter to a century!
I tak by vam Pan Bih	In such a way may God grant you
Pryznachyv zhyttie i vik! "[2]	A good and long life! "

These *vinshuvannia* were always followed by the religious greeting " KHrystos sia razhdaie! " (Christ is born!) stated either by the recitor of the felicitation or in unison by the whole carolling group.* Following the *koliaduvannia* and *vinshuvannia* the carollers were offered food and drink (ie. whatever was available in the house at the time). Usually, this gesture was politely refused at first by the carollers (typically

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I iak my dizhdaly
SHCHob tak i oprovadyly
I druhoi koliady dizhdaly!

[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer. This is similar to a felicitation included in Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 74:

> Vinchuiemo vas shchastiam, zdorovliam, symy sviatamy, tsi oprovadyty krashchykh, veselishykh dochekaty. Vid teper do Bohoiavlennia, vid Bohoiavlennia do Voskresennia, vid Voskresennia do Zislannia Sviatoho Dukha, Vid Sviatoho Dukha do sto lit, doky Boh naznachyv vam vik!

*All of the informants mentioned this.

stating that they had to continue on in their visiting tour of the other homes in the district), however, upon the host's insistence, the carollers eventually accepted the hospitality of the house.[1] If the carollers did not eat or drink, they visited for a while, and were given something to eat or drink for the road[2], and, were given the household's donation (ie. what it could afford to give).[*] While the usual length of a carolling visit lasted approximately half an hour[3], the usual length of carolling throughout the local community took place during the Christmas *sviata* , and often, until the Feast of Jordan. In addition, the groups put in rather long hours - typically stretching from immediately after lunch/dinner to well past midnight.[4]

As previously mentioned, both sponsored and non-sponsored *koliadnyky* carried a domestically produced star-prop or *zvizda* . This was one of the few items which would have had to been made during *Pylypivka* . Unlike the group effort that went into the making this prop in the in the old country (see description contained in " Rizdvo " in Chapter Two), on the farms during the period under review, it was typically made by a particular member (or family) of the carolling group and was then used by the group.[+] As a prop of a carolling group, the *zvizda* was then carried by the various members of the group in turn during the carolling session. Unlike in the old country where the *koliadnyky* gathered at a particular member's home prior to carolling, in the farm environment of rural Alberta during the period under review, the *koliadnyky* collected en route as the members went carolling from house to house. Travelling groups were composed of between five to seven individuals who crossed the terrain by horse and sleigh.[1] The utilization of the *zvizda* was very similar to its old country counterpart.[2] For example:

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[1] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[2] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[*] All of the informants mentioned this.

[3] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Sofia Gara, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and. Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[+] Often, the *zvizda* was made in turn each year by the various members of the groups concerned.

> " Tai vyrob'iely sobi takeie, tai to tak blyshchalosia iakby zvizda bula...Tai stavaly pid viknom, tai, i to odno trymalo v rukakh, a ti reshta kolieduvaly. Tai tak vidbuvalosia. . .i khloptsi i divcheta ishly. "[3]

> " They used to make it for themselves [a star prop], and it used to shine just as if it was a star. . .And they used to position it in front of the [main] window [of the house], and, one would hold it in his hands, and the rest would carol. And that's how it went. . .both boys and girls used to go. "

The *zvizda* construction was also quite similar to the prop produced in the old country.[4] It was based upon a circular shaped structure formed and secured onto a metal or wooden frame with rope, wire or glue. However, unlike the old country where the prop was made of an oiled paper skin onto which was drawn a representation of a star (see Diagrams 4 and 5 in Chapter Two), in East Central Alberta, the prop was made either of a cardboard or thin sheet metal shell into which star shapes were cut out. These star shaped holes were then lined from the inside with coloured crepe paper. This hollow sphere was then secured onto the top end of a sturdy pole with either glue or tape. A large enough opening was made in the top of the *zvizda* so that a candle could be inserted inside and taped onto the top of the post. This opening allowed for the easy lighting of the interior candle, as well as, for the escape of heat and smoke which was produced by the lit candle. When the candle was lit, the light produced highlighted the various multi-coloured stars in its shell. (See Diagram 12 for construction techniques) The *zvizda* was lit immediately prior to each carolling performance, raised to and held perfectly straight in front of the main window of the house so that its light would be cast into the house (and so that the structure would not burn). For example:

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[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] John Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[4] From the recollections of Peter Chillibecki and William Chillibecki, who themselves went a number of times carolling with the *zvizda* both as older adolescents and as young adults (ie. as both part of non-sponsored and sponsored carolling groups) in the Slawa and Warwick areas.

> " Nu. . .pered viknom pryidem, zasvityly, i todi koliaduiem. . .And once you finish, you put the candle out. . .and they give you five cents and then you go! "[1]

> " Well. . .first you come up to a window, light it [the zvizda], and then you start to carol. . .And once you finish, you put the candle out. . .and they give you five cents and then you go! "

The structure of the *zvizda* was quite temporary, and as such, had to be constucted anew each year.

While in the old country, many self-initiated carolling groups constructed either a " shopka " or a " vertep " as their props, in East Central Alberta this practice never re-emerged during the period under review.[2] Consequently, most of the nativity scenes recalled by the informants were those set up in the local churches for the Christmas service, or, those purchased by the family following a visit to one of the more major urban centres.[1]

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[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #5, and, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

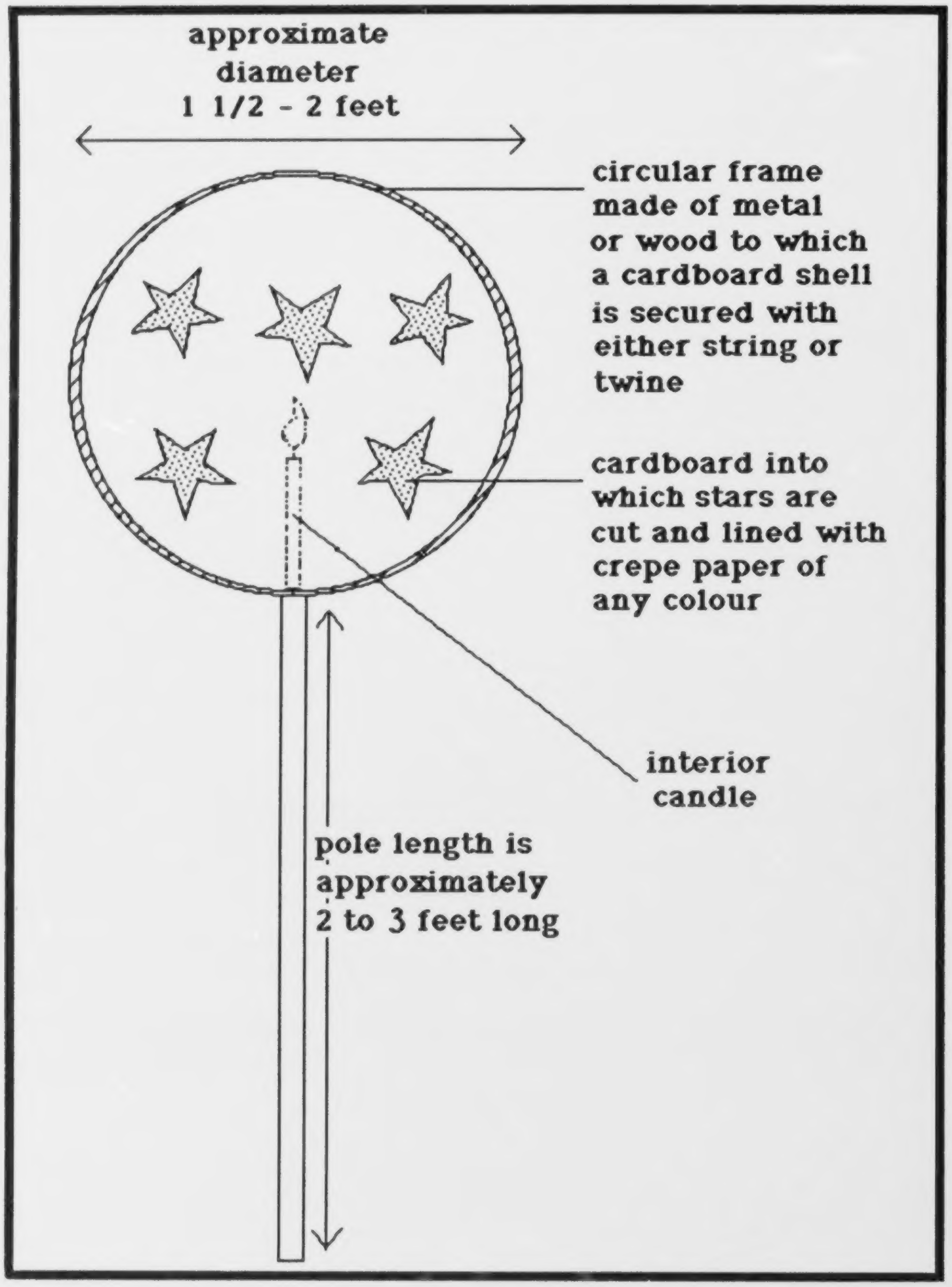
approximate diameter 1 1/2 - 2 feet
circular frame made of metal or wood to which a cardboard shell is secured with either string or twine
cardboard into which stars are cut and lined with crepe paper of any colour
interior candle
pole length is approximately 2 to 3 feet long

Diagram 12: WARWICK ZVIZDA* - Side view

* A carolling prop made of a cardboard shell secured onto a circular metal or wooden frame. The structure is then glued onto a sturdy pole. (For a Top view see Diagram 5 in Chapter Two) A square shaped prop was also known.

A simpler type of *zvizda* was also constructed and carried by the *koliadnyky* during their *koliaduvannia* during the period under review. This simpler type was usually a plain star cut out of cardboard and either covered in foil, or painted, and then mounted onto a long handle. Obviously, these types of star-props were not lit. To announce themselves, these particular carolling groups carried hand bells with them.[1]

The process of *koliaduvannia* , when re-established within the local Ukrainian communities of East Central Alberta during the farming period under review, while similar to the customs left behind in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (see " Rizdvo " in Chapter Two for a detailed description of the process of *koliaduvannia*), changed slightly. For instance, whereas in the old country door to door carolling was done on foot, in rural Alberta it was done by horse and wagon and/or sleigh.* Only the local neighbourhood groups, which were composed of adolescents, who visited within their immediate neighbourhoods, travelled by foot (primarily because they did not have as many places to visit as did the sponsored groups). While *koliaduvannia* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn took place over the three and a half days of *sviata* (from immediately following the *Sviata Vechera* through to the end of the day on *Stefana*), in East Central Alberta, it was not at all unusual for *koliaduvannia* to extend from following the mass on *Rizdvo* ** (or with *Rizdvo* if there was a Midnight Mass), through to the end of the Jordan holidays.

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[1] From the recollections of Frances Gunderson.

*All of the informants mentions this.

***Rizdvo* proper.

The three days of *sviata* were primarily spent as days of visiting, entertaining and/or carolling among neighbours within the local Ukrainian communities in East Central Alberta. Whereas the activities of *Rizdvo* (proper) may have been highlighted by the compulsory attendance of mass by the family (depending on when mass was scheduled at the local church), the highlight event of the three days otherwise culminated on *Stefana* . *Stefana* could have been celebrated as someone's nameday, however, more significantly, this day was noted as the day that the *didukh* (which by then would have been scattered all over the house by the children) was swept out of the house and burned.[1] This practice was still called " Palennia didukha " (ie. burning the *didukh*) during the period under review. As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, this activity involved the removal of the straw/hay from the house to an outside area (again usually the garden area), where it was lit and allowed to burn itself out.[2] As the straw burned, the children, indeed all who were present at the burning, were encouraged to jump over the flames[3] because it was believed that by doing so, participants protected their bodies/lower limbs from any afflictions in the coming year. For example:

> " Auntie (mother's sister) used to say that if you're sick, or if you have some disease. . .or something like that. . .if you jump over it [ie. the flames], it will take it away. It was just a small fire and everybody would jump over it. . .parents and children. . . "[4]

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[1] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

After the fire burned itself out, the ashes remaining were redistributed and shaped into a cross.[1] This cross was then left until spring at which time it was turned over when soil preparations began for the garden. It was believed that by leaving this ashen cross on the property, the family and its holdings were protected from illness, harm, disaster and/or deliberate evil in the upcoming year.[2] For other families, the hay/straw was not taken out and burned, but was taken to the chicken coop and kept until the hens started sitting, or to the barn to be fed to the livestock (particularly if it was hay which was used for the *diduch*).[3] When the hens started sitting, some of that straw/hay was placed under each hen so that it would brood better. The sheaf, which stood in the corner of the house, was removed to the granary on New Year's Day.[4]

Novyi Rik

While the observance of *Novyi Rik* during the initial period of homesteading in East Central Alberta was reduced to the observance of *Vasylia* , during the farming period under review it again encompassed a two-part celebratory period as it did in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. First, there were the preparations for and observance of New Year's Eve or " Malanka ". Second, there were the activities associated with the observance and celebration of New Year's Day or " Vasylia ".[5] Each of these will be described and discussed in the following sections.

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.
[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.
[3] William Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5.
[4] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.
[5] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

Malanka

The preparations which were involved for *Malanka* , were essentially the typical preparations required before any *sviata* or Sunday. As in the old country, these preparations took place during the three and a half day respite between *Stefana* and the evening of *Malanka* . As with the preparations for *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* , the preparations before *Malanka* and *Novyi Rik* ensured that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the day and half stretching from dusk on *Malanka* to the end of the day of *Vasylia* . For the men in a family, it again meant that all of the heavy labour out of doors had to be completed (ie. cleaning out and bedding down the stables and stalls with fresh hay, making sure that there was enough feed/chop to last through the *sviata* , making sure that there was enough fuel/water for the household to last through the *sviata* , etc.). For the women in a family, preparing for *Novyi Rik* meant that all of the heavy work indoors had to once again be completed (ie. housecleaning, laundering, food preparation, etc.) Again, as in the old country, there were no special food requirements for the New Year's holidays. The food that was prepared, was that which was available to be prepared from the family's existing food stocks at the time.*

The observance of *Malanka* during the farming period was regarded as a social celebration during which neighbours (and especially those farming households where marriageable young women lived),

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*All of the informants mentioned these general preparations before *Novyi Rik* .

anticipated a visit from a travelling, jovial troupe of entertainers made up of the young unmarried men in the area.[1] Just as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, *Malanka* was not only the name given to New Year's Eve, but was also the name given to the door to door travelling entourages which performed that evening, as well as, the name given to the main character within those entertaining troupes. Further, and again just as in the old country, it was said that those who travelled within the troupes, as well as, those households receiving them, stated that each ". . .made *Malanka* " or ". . .robyly Malanku ".* However, whereas in the old country the *Malanka* troupe generally depicted the standard stereotypes of day to day village life, in Canada, the *Malanka* troupe(s) either depicted domestic and/or forest animals (that is, if there were any costumed members), or were simply made up of either a male or female *Malanka* dressed in women's clothing accompanied by a partner known as a " molodyi "[2] (a groom) and an entourage of a few older male adolescents and/or young unmarried men within the district - in disguise (ie. in costume) so as not to be recognized[3] (ie. gypsies, devils with pitchforks, with tails, etc.[4]). For example:

> " Well. . .They make a horse out, or something, and then they come in. . . They walk right into a house, you don't invite, they just open the door and come in and they perform a deal in the house. . .Well, they sing too . . .*Koliaduvaly* (carolled)! One would go to the stove and steal a *kobasa* ! That's about all we could do in there [in the house]. . .This was a night performance on New Year's Eve. . .and it's just like a comedy. . .And after all of that, they. . .somebody gets up and gives you

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[4] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

> a meal. If they don't [give you a meal], then somebody goes to the stove and sneaks a *kobasa* away. . .And then we go out and keep going to more places!. . .It was just sort of entertainment at the time, because there wasn't anything else to look forward to. "[1]

Or:

> " Ta tut robyly v Kanadi Malanku. . .zrobliet' vedmedia z cholovika. . .tak vo vbyrut' sho vin hodet iak vedmid' i vedut na lantsusi. . .Yes! "[2]

> " And here in Canada they made *Malanka* . . .they made a man into a bear. . .they dressed him in such a way that he walked about like a bear and led him around on a chain. . .Yes! "

Further:

> " I remember *Malanka* coming to dad's house, and they used to go to a lot of other Ukrainian homes. . .*Malanka* dressed up and ' she ' would visit the homes and carolled and *vinshuvala* [recited felicitations] of " ZHylaiem vam dovhe zhyttia ' that is, Wishing you a long life and many happy years ahead and a good *vrozhai* [ie. harvest] and blessed you and that was it. . . ' She ' was always with a bunch of people - never by herself and they were all in costumes. . .They carried a lot of peanuts with them and threw those peanuts in the house and did *zbytky* [pranks]. . .but it depended in which house they were in. . .In older peoples homes, they didn't do it, but to younger peoples homes, they did. . .and everybody laughed afterwards! "[3]

Typically, the costumes worn by the members of the troupes (ie. if there were any costumes) were hastily collected and/or made from materials that were available within a particular household at the time (such as flour sacks). The animals which were typically depicted included either a horse or a bear.[4]

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[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1.
[2] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #5. Freely translated by the writer.
[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.
[4] Dmytro Kostash, Interview #4.

The goals of the *Malanka* entertainers on the farms during the period under review were the same as the goals in Chortkiv and Sniatyn in that the performers endeavoured to bring the new year in with humour and laughter. The event itself was anticipated and appreciated by most of the families and/or households visited.[1] In many ways, the event reminded one of North America's Hallowe'en practices with its activities of trick or treat: For example:

> " Well. . .IAk vy pryimaly faino, to vony obiishlysia faino. A iak ne pryimyly, to vony narobyly zbytky. . .like sina prynesut' do khaty. . . just to make shkoda. To me, it seems like it was something like Hallowe'en. . .They never broke anything, but just jumped around and did funny things. . .Like taking you to dance, divchena [daughter], mama [mother], and swing you around and sing. . .and then they would leave. No money was ever given to them. . .It was done to make things happy for people! "[2]

> " Well. . .If you invited and hosted them nicely, then they entertained you nicely. But, if you didn't, then they played pranks. . .like bring hay into the house. . .just to make some trouble. To me, it seems like it was something like Hallowe'en. . ."

The process of entertaining with a travelling *Malanka* troupe was similar to the process of *koliaduvannia* (for a description of the carolling process see previous discussion in " Rizdvo " in Chapter Two). As with *koliaduvannia* on *Sviatyi Vechir* , *Malanka* began immediately after supper on New Year's Eve and continued until well after midnight.[3] Essentially, what the entertainers tried to do, was in each house that they visited, they looked around to try and see what they could get away with with respect to pranks (such as pulling food from pots, finding *kobasa* , even tipping over johns, etc.[1]). If there was a girl, an oldest daughter, or a wife present within the home, they tried to take her to dance around the house for fun. *Malanka* was not a paid entertainment (as was *koliaduvannia*), and was done purely for its humourous intent.[2] Only boys went out for *Malanka* in East Central Alberta during the period under review. Further, the troupes only went to the Ukrainian households within their immediate districts.[3]

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[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

There was also a variation of the *Malanka* entertainment(s) within some of the commercial establishments of the larger Ukrainian communities in East Central Alberta[+]. For example:

> " . . .I remember this one time in the Two Hills Hotel. . .I was in the bar on New Year's Eve. . .and there was someone dressed up as a horse and was taking beers away from some of the other guys there! "[4]

During the farming period under review on New Year's Eve, the belief with respect to how one acted continued. It was believed, that on that eve, how one acted/behaved - determined that person's disposition for the entire year.[1] As a result, all tried to be on their best behaviour on that day.[2] For example:

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[2] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[3] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. J.B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vol. I (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1956), pp. 44-55, 158 contains 2 *Malanka* texts, and, J.B. Rudnyckyj, Ukrainian-Canadian Folklore and Dialectological Texts Vol. II (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd., 1958), pp. 374-5, 505-6 contains 2 *Malanka* texts (without melodies). As well, 5 *Malanka* texts (with melodies) are included in Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 131-149.

[+] It is interesting to note that many of the informants, while they did not celebrate and/or receive *Malanka* troupes themselves, stated that it was generally known that ". . .ti Rumuny " (literally - those Romanians) or ". . .ti Bukovyntsi " (literally - those Bukovynians) observed those practices in the northern parts of the Ukrainian bloc settlement areas of East Central Alberta.

[4] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

> " Kazaly. . .shchob na Novyi Rik ne hnivatysia, ne svarytysia. . .bo budesh tsilyi rik! "[3]

> " It was said. . .that for *Novyi Rik* one should not get angry, not argue. . . otherwise, you'll be that way all year! "

There were also some weather beliefs associated with New Year's Eve during the period under review. No specifics however, could be offered by the informants except that the predictions had something to do with prediciting what the weather was going to be like for the growing and/or harvesting seasons, six months in advance, etc.[4]

Novyi Rik (proper)

St. Basil's Day or " Vasylia " during the farming period continued to be observed on the 14th of January in accordance with the Julian Calendar.* In fact, *Vasylia* was New Year's Day or " Novyi Rik " (proper).[5] *Vasylia* could have also been observed as someone's nameday. When observed as a name day, a " William " was located upon whom pranks were played (in the same manner as " Nicks " were treated on *Mykol-*

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[1] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[2] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

*All of the informants continued to follow the Julian Calendar during the period under review.

[5] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

aia +). When a " William " was found, he was tied up for fun, a wreath of flowers was hung around his neck (as they do for racehorses) and left that way for approximately five to ten minutes. Some fun was had at his expense, but at the end of it all, a present was given to the victim so that he would remember the day (and those who played the pranks upon him).[1] *Vasylia* was also an enthusiastically looked forward to feast day (especially for the children) within a family. On this day, just as in the old country, children were encouraged to go to their neighbouring family members' and/or friends' homes to scatter grains while reciting felicitations of good fortune and good will for the new year.[2] As in the initial period of homesteading, this scattering of grain was known as " zasivannia "*, however, it was also being referred to alternatively as simply " siaty "[3] (literally - to sow) during the period under review. The children who performed this ritual were known as " sivachi "[4] (literally - sowers).

Just as in the old country, the activities on *Vasylia* began as the household stirred from sleep. The morning ablutions practice of washing from a basin filled with water containing a few coins was carried on in East Central Alberta during the period under review, as were the beliefs associated with this practice. For the men in a family, washing in this

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+Oddly enough, this type of pranksterism on namedays was never played upon girls.

[1] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Velma Letwin, Interview #1, John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Lilian Czar, Interview #1.

*All of the informants referred to the ritual scattering of seeds/grains on *Vasylia* as *zasivannia* .

[3] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

moneyed water brought the washer good health, success, skill and prosperity in the new year.[1] For the women in a family, washing in this moneyed water was believed to bring about good health, success, skill and beauty.[2] Towards the end of this ritual washing, the youngest members of the household (who were usually the last to wash from the basin), took the money for themselves (quite often, this very expectation caused an arguement amongst the youngest as to who would get the money).[3]

The activity of *zasivannia* , was by far, the highlight of *Vasylia* for children and adults alike. Within the Ukrainian farming families of East Central Alberta, young boys[4] and girls up to approximately twelve years of age participated in *zasivannia* just as they would have in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. As soon as they awoke on New Year's Day, children would grab any small sack or can available in their homes (or use their pockets if they were large enough), fill it will seeds (typically grain seeds such as wheat, rye, oats and/or barley)*, gather in small groups of two to four (of either family members and/or close friends/neighbours) and go to their immediate Ukrainian relatives and/or neighbours to scatter those grains and recite New Year well wishing felicitations.[1] Only Ukrainian neighbours were visited to perform this grain scattering ritual.[2] The reasons for these selective visits amounted to the interpretation that the non-Ukrainians would not have known this practice. As a result, the Ukrainians would not risk the potential possibilities of either being chided by their English-speaking neighbours, or, embarassing themselves in front of those same neighbours for keeping such a ritualistic practice* in Canada. For example:

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[1] Velma Letwin mentioned that in her husband's family, the washing in moneyed water took place first thing on Christmas Day. Anne Faryna mentioned that in her husband's family, this practice took place first thing on the Feast of Jordan.

[2] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Within the Chillibecki family, there was also a similar practice on Easter Sunday morning where one washed in a basin filled with water containing a few coins and an Easter Egg known as a " Pysanka ". Again, for the same reasons.

[3] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, William Chillibecki, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[4] Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 77 states that it was only young boys who took part in *zasivannia* on *Novyi Rik* .

*All of the informants mentioned these grains as the typical grains used for *zasivannia* .

> " We didn't go to the English neighbours because of what they would think. . .They would think it's stupid! English people don't know this, so they would really think it's silly. . .and I wouldnt't dare go to an English house to do that!. . .We'd go carolling sometimes to an English house because some of them really asked you and we'd sing " Silent Night ". . . something in English. . .but not *zasivaty* ! We wouldn't even try because they know nothing about that. "[3]

Zasivannia started when it was still dark outside.[4] Travelling from house to house , the process of *zasivannia* was similar to that which was performed in the old country - except that the distances were longer between homes, and as a result, fewer homes were visited. During the period under review, parents often accompanied their children during *zasivannia* to visit with family and/or neighbours at the same time. For both young and old, the ritual of *zasivannia* was appreciated. For the children, it was a chance to earn a bit of money for themselves, while for the adults, it was a welcomed expression of good fortune for their health, happiness and success in the upcoming agricultural season.[1] Taking approximately a handful of seeds, the children scattered and simultaneously recited their individual recitations.* The examples of felicitation texts which follow indicate the nature of well-wishing expressed:

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[1] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, Lilian Czar, Interview #1, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this non-sharing of Ukrainian practices with their non-Ukrainian neighbours during the period under review. In fact, it was not even a consideration.

[3] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[4] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na vsiaku pashnytsiu	For all types of grains
Na Novyi Rik!	For the New Year!
SHCHoby krashche bulo vam v khati	So that it will be better for you in your house
IAk i v toi rik! "[2]	Than in the past year! "

Or:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na shchastia, na zdorovlia	For happiness, for health
Na toi Novyi Rik!	On this New Year!
Shoby lipshe vam rodylosia	So that everything would grow better for you
Iak v toi rik! "[3]	Than in the past year! "

And:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Ta vsiaka pashnytsia	And all types of grains
Na Novyi Rik	For the New Year
Na Vasylia	For St. Basil's Day
SHCHob dochekaly	May you greet it
Tak provadyly	And spend it
SHCHestiam, zdorovliam	In happiness, in health

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[1] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned that they each had their own *vinshuvannia* verses.

[2] Lilian Czar, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

Na mnohykh lit dochekaly![1]	For many years to come! "

Also:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Ta vsiaka pashnytsia	And all types of grains
Na Novyi Rik	For the New Year
Na Vasylia	For St. Basil's Day
Na vves' vik	And always
Proshchaitesia z shastiam, zdorovliem,	I leave you in happiness, in health,
Na mnokhykh lit![2]	For many years to come!

Further:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na Vasylia	On St. Basil's Day
Na Novyi Rik	On New Year's Day
IAk dochekaly	As you have awaited it
Tak provadyly	May you spend it
Z shestiem, zdorovliem	In happiness, in health
Na mnohi lit dochekaly! "[3]	For many years to come! "

Or:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Na shastia, na zdorovlia	For happiness, for health
Na sei Novyi Rik	For this New Year
SHCHob vam sia lipshe vrodylo	May everything grow better for you
IAk v torik! "[4]	Than in the past year! "

And:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
Vsiiiaka pashnytsia	And all types of grains
Na shchestie, na zdorovlia	For happiness, for health
Na sei Novyi Rik!	For this New Year!

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[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

SHCHoby vam sia lipshe vrodylo	So that everything will grow better for you
IAk v turik! "[1]	Than in the past year! "

Also:

" Siisia, rodysia, zhyto, pshenytsia	" Sow, grow, rye, wheat
I vsiaka pashnytsia	And all types of grains
Na shchastia, na zdorovlia	For happiness, for health
Na sei Novyi Rik!	For this New Year!
SHCHoby vam sia vrodylo lipshe	So that everything will grow better for you
IAk v turik! "[2]	Than in the past year! "

And finally:

" Siisia, rodysia	" Sow, grow
Na shchastia, na zdorovlia	For happiness, for health
Aby vam lipshe sia vrodylo	So that everything will grow better for you
IAk v turik! "[3]	Than in the past year! "

For their efforts, the well-wishers were rewarded with money (usually from five to twenty-five cents)[4], fruit, baked goods and/or food - all of which were regarded as special treats.[5] While in the old country the children participated in *zasivannia* up until it was time for their families to attend mass, in East Central Alberta this activity took place until all of the intended neighbours were visited (which was usually until about noon).[6] If, due to the weather, the children were unable to go to their neighbours to scatter grains, the children did it in their own homes, for which they were paid and rewarded by their parents.[1]

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Anne Faryna, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[3] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[4] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

[5] Robert Kostash, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Nancy Samoil, Interview #5, and, Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[6] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

Zasivannia was eagerly awaited by most neighbours, despite the fact that it created quite a mess. This is humourously depicted by the following: " When you get wheat - You got to sweep! "[2] In a few instances, even older unmarried friends and neighbours descended upon households just after midnight on New Year's Day to perform *zasivannia* .[3]

Mass was seldom attended on New Year's Day because usually, there was no service to attend - unless it was a Sunday and a scheduled day for a service at the local church. If there was a church service, it was attended weather permitting.[*]

If there was no mass[+] on *Vasylia* , the remainder of the day following *zasivannia* was spent socializing, either indoors or outdoors, just as it would on any *sviata* or Sunday. For the children, it meant engaging in various winter activities associated with fun in the snow, as well as, participating in quieter play indoors, while for the adults, socializing meant either entertaining visitors who came to their homes or going out to visit family and/or friends. As such, the activities which were participated in by the young and the old were similar to those participated in during *Pylypivka* , during *sviata* , on Sundays, or, at any other time of the year when circumstances and time permitted.

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[3] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[*] All of the informants mentioned this.

[+] It was important enough for most informants to mention that it was not always possible to attend all of the scheduled masses at the local churches. Attendance was also dependant on the weather conditions existing at the time of travel to church. If either the family or the horses were too cold, there was no travel because even though the nearest churches were only 5 to 10 miles away in most cases, that distance was enough to allow severe frostbite and/or freezing to set in.

Iordan

As in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the observance of *Iordan* during the farming period under review in rural Alberta encompassed a two-part preparatory and celebratory period. First, there were the domestic preparations leading up to the observance and celebration of the Eve of Feast of Jordan or " SHCHedryi Vechir ".* Second, there were the activities associated with the observance and celebration of the Feast of Jordan or " Iordan " or " Ardan ".[1] All of the preparations, observances and celebrations associated with these days are described in turn.

SHCHedryi Vechir

Just as in the old country and during the intial period of homesteading in East Central Alberta, the preparations for the observance of *SHCHedryi Vechir* and *Iordan* fell somewhere between the preparations associated with *Sviatyi Vechir* and *Rizdvo* , and, *Malanka* and *Novyi Rik* . Similar to the preparations for *Malanka* , the preparations for

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*All of the informants continued to refer to the Eve of the Feast of Jordan as " SHCHedryi Vechir ".

[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #4, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, and, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

SHCHedryi Vechir took place during the three and a half day respite between *Vasylia* and the evening of the Eve of the Feast of Jordan.* As a result, the preparations which were completed were done so with the objective of ensuring that no heavy work or labour would be performed by any family member during the day and a half stretching from dusk on *SHCHedryi Vechir* to the end of the day on *Iordan* . Further, just as with the activities preceeding *Sviatyi Vechir* , the preparations for observing *SHCHedryi Vechir* also included the cooking of a second meal similar to that which was consumed on *Sviatyi Vechir* .[1] This second supper during the period under review was known by a number of names including: " Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera "[2] (literally - the Jordan Holy Supper); " Mala Sviata Vechera "[3] (literally - a small/lesser Holy Supper); " Druha Sviata Vechera "[4] (literally - a second Holy Supper); and, " SHCHedra Vechera "[5] (literally - a generous supper).

Just as was done during the initial homesteading period, the day of *SHCHedryi Vechir* was observed as a day of fasting even though *Pylypivka* was well over. As with the fasting on *Sviatyi Vechir* , not everyone in a family fasted on *SHCHedryi Vechir* .** Children up to approximately ten to eleven years of age were exempted from fasting because it was determined by their parents that their little bodies should not have to tolerate a fast. Further, while for the adults, fasting in the old country or during the initial homesteading period primarily meant complete abstention from all food and/or drink for the entire day (or the allowance of water, tea and/or coffee for those who could afford it), during the farming period under review, fasting essentially meant the abstention from food for the day following a light breakfast. Fasting ended with the approach of dusk.

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*All of the informants mentioned this stretch of days between the holidays.

[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[2] Lilian Kostash, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[3] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1.

[4] Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

[5] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

**All of the informants mentioned this.

Since *SHCHedryi Vechir* was a fasting day, all of the dishes and foodstuffs which were prepared for the evening meal were meatless and milkless. Again, just as with the *Sviata Vechera* , while all of the families were aware that ideally twelve different dishes were supposed to be prepared for the evening meal, most families prepared the amount and variety of food that was appropriate for their individual family's circumstances at the time of preparation.* While the menu may have again varied from household to household, *kutia* was prepared in all homes as it was for *Sviatyi Vechir* . The typical menu for the *Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera* included some, or all, or any combination of the following dishes: *kutia* ; *borshcht* ; *holubtsi* ; *pyrohy* ; mushrooms; fish; sauerkraut; beans; peas; beets; root vegetables; bread; a circular braided bread loaf known as a " kolach "; *sushenie* ; *pampukhy* ; and, tea and/or alchohol. (The recipes and methods of preparation for these foods are described previously within " Sviatyi Vechir " in Chapter Two). While this evening meal mimiced the *Sviata Vechera* in almost every aspect, it

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*All of the informants noted that it was their mothers who typically did most of the baking, as well as cooking, before the major *sviata* during the year - just as they did before Sundays.

was not considered as important or as intense an observance.[1] As a result, if anything regarding the evening and/or the meal was not exactly as it was on *Sviatyi Vechir* , it was allowed, accepted and generally did not create a fuss.[2] This particular evening and meal, while observed, simply did not seem as important as the observances on *Sviatyi Vechir* .[3]

As dusk approached, everyone in the family waited for father and the boys to come in after completing their outdoor chores. Their coming in signalled to everyone within the household that the hard work for the day was nearly over and that the Jordan holidays were about to begin. While the men washed up and changed into their holiday attire, mother and the girls finished up the food preparations for the meal and set the table. When everyone and everything was ready, the entire family gathered about the dining table, and while still standing, a candle was lit, and the prayer " Otche Nash " (Our Father) led by the head of the household* was said aloud. Unlike the *Sviata Vechera* , just before sitting down to eat, the food on the table was blessed by the female head of the household with the blessed water left over from the previous *Iordan* .[4] After these rituals were completed, everyone sat down to eat. As with the *Sviata Vechera* , the attendance of every family member at the meal was expected. However, unlike the *Sviata Vechera* , the *Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera* had no particular rituals or beliefs associated with the

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[1] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 77.

[3] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this general programme of events prior to the evening meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* .

[4] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

kutia - except for it being eaten first.* After every family member tasted the *kutia* , the remainder of the foods were eaten in due course during the rest of the meal. The end of the meal was often, but not always, marked by the spontaneous singing of Jordan carols known as " shchedrivky ".** However, during the period under review, many of these particular songs were dropped from the family repertoires.

While the evening meal on *SHCHedryi Vechir* had no associated practices and/or beliefs, the same could not be said of the activities preceeding or following it. A ritual lay blessing of the farm outbuildings by the head of the household continued to take place before the meal and the leaving of blessed water on the dining table continued after the meal. Descriptions of both these activities follow.

Just as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the last outdoor activity completed before coming in for the *Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera* involved the blessing of the various farm outbuildings (ie. barns, granaries, storage sheds, etc.).[1] This was done by the head of the household accompanied by his son(s) as it was the men in a family who primarily looked after the outdoor work on the farm.[2] Taking the left over blessed water from the previous year (because by this time during the period under review, there were annual masses held on *Iordan* during which blessed water was collected by the parishioners), the head of the household took a homemade aspergillum made from knotted straw (see Diagram 11 in Chapter Two) or from a single stalk of grain, and walked about his property blessing the various outbuildings.[1] These blessings were done by making the sign of the cross at each entrance with the homemade aspergillum (in the same manner as priests blessed) while saying the following " Vo imia Otsia, i Syna, i Sviatoho Dukha. Amin' " (In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.) The son(s) accompanying the head of the household followed closely behind while holding a bowl of *pyrohy* in both hands. Following each blessing, one of the *pyrohy* + were ceremoniously eaten. For example:

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*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants used this nomenclature for Jordan carols. One *shchedrivka* text without music is included in Ukrainian Women's Association, Op. cit., pp. 77-8.

[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

[2] From the recollections of John and Bohdan Hrynchyshyn who together as father and son participated in this activity on their farm in the Redwater area.

> " . . .on *SHCHedryi Vechir* . . .You take a bowl of *pyrohy* . . .and dad and myself would go around the farmyard and you would take a bite of the *pyrih* and dad would like. . .bless the chickens or cows or whatever. . . with blessed water. . .I know we had to do that. We did that for quite a few years. . .We'd go to each different barn, or wherever there were animals. And then I would [take a bite] everytime he would say something. . .There must have been a reason [for that] but what it was, I can't remember!. . .You know, I lost a lot of those things. When you're doing it then, you never think why you're doing it. . .You did them because you were told to do it I think, and you don't really bother to know why you do it. . .But I'm sure there must have been a reason for everything that was done. Why else was it done? For what purpose? "[2]

The purpose of this lay blessing was to protect the farm and its inhabitants from any possible ills and/or evils in the new year for the same reason that the local parish priest came around following *Iordan* to bless the family home.[1] The holy water leftover after this ritual blessing of the farm's outbuildings was then left on the dining table following the evening meal so that the dead within a family could come and drink it[2] (in the same manner that it was believed that the dead came following the *Sviata Vechera* to partake of the *kutia* and other foodstuffs left on the dining table for that purpose).

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[1] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. Nancy stated that within her husband's family (who were originally from the Borshchiv area of Eastern Galicia), it was believed that the animals spoke on *Iordans'kyi Sviatyi Vechir* .

+Unlike in Chortkiv where a garlic bun known as a " knysh " was used for this purpose by John Hrynchyshyn.

[2] Bohdan Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1.

Following the *Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera* , the children stayed home and spent the rest of the evening playing indoors. The adolescents also stayed home to watch over their younger siblings and help in readying them for bed, and/or helped their parents in their evening chores.* Unlike Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the practice of going from house to house to carol on *SHCHedryi Vechir* was not re-established by the Ukrainians on the farms in East Central Alberta following the initial homsteading period. The reasons for dropping this practice (as well as for the eventual dropping of house to house *koliaduvannia* on *Sviatyi Vechir* for that matter) were rather obvious in that not only were the evenings too cold for adolescents to be out on their own by foot, but in addition, the distances between farms was too great to reasonably keep this practice going.** The loss of certain observances and practices is also explained by the following:

> " . . .That life was hard and that you had to survive took a lot of time. . . And it seemed that to do things the Ukrainian way took a lot more work . . .So it wasn't as significant anymore in the larger scheme of things. . .

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #6, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.
[2] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #2.
*All of the informants mentioned this.
**All of the informants mentioned this.

> So things got lost, and once they got lost it became too much of an effort to get it back, and so it remained lost because it wasn't worth it to bring it back. "[1]

The women within a family concentrated their efforts indoors following the *SHCHedryi Vechir* evening meal (ie. tidying up, making provisions to ensure that any carollers and/or visitors who came to their home would be welcomed with food and/or refreshments, supervising the activities of their children, and ensuring that the household was prepared to attend church and visit or receive visitors the following day on *Iordan*). The men within a family again concentrated on the outdoors following the evening meal (ie. ensuring that the livestock was fed and comfortable).*

Following all of the various activities performed by all family members after the *Iordans'ka Sviata Vechera* , and, depending on the schedule of services at the local church, the family either went to sleep or readied themselves to attend Midnight Mass to celebrate *Iordan* .

Iordan (proper)

Iordan (proper) was observed on the 19th of January in accordance with the Julian Calendar**, and was, for the most part, spent as any *sviata* or Sunday would have been spent in the old country. If the family did not attend Midnight Mass, the day began with the attendance of mass at the local church (or wherever the *Iordan* Mass was being celebrated within the district)[1], while the rest of the day was spent socializing with family and/or friends. As in the old country, *Iordan* was observed and celebrated as the day Jesus Christ was baptized in the Jordan River, and as such, in rural Alberta, the church services also incorporated the blessing of water to celebrate this event.* As a result, attendance at this service was of paramount importance for most of the Ukrainians within the bloc settlement area because it was at this service that they were able to collect their annual supply of holy water (for their own personal use(s).** The beliefs associated with the powers of this blessed water carried on within the farming families concerned during the period under review. As a result, this water continued to have the myriad of uses possessed in the old country (See previous discussion in " Iordan " in Chapter Two for a despcription of the various uses and perceived powers). However, during the farming period, these uses consisted primarily of: christening a newborn before it could be christened by a priest;*** blessing with and/or ingesting when someone was ill;**** blessing one's domicile if the priest does not come;[2] blessing the house and property that you are moving to before you set foot on it;[3] blessing items before they are worn the first time (such as brooches, rings, etc.);[1] blessing grain for sowing and/or the ground before planting;[2] and, blessing one's field if a hail cloud was sighted[3] (or lighting a blessed candle);[4] etc. For example:

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[1] Robert Kostash, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants mentioned this.

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[1] William Chillibecki, Interview #1, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, and, Anne Faryna, Interview #1. Further, both *Rizdvo* (proper) and *Iordan* (proper) were obligatory feast days during the calendar year that the circuit priests toured the local churches to perform religious services.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants mentioned the importance of collecting this holy water to keep in their homes for " emergencies ". All mentioned that it was kept from year to year.

***Mentioned by all of the informants.

****Ibid.

[2] Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[3] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

> " IAk tebe v serdyni bolyt', abo shos'. . .napyisia sviachenoi vody! Abo iak holova bolyt', abo dumaiesh shcho shchos' tam pudzhaie tebe. . .take some holy water and drink it! "[5]

> " If you have an internal pain, or something. . .drink some holy water! Or if you have a headache, or if you think that something is frightening you. . .take some holy water and drink it! "

Immediately following mass on *Iordan* , the service to bless the water took place.* Unlike the blessing of the water at a riverfront, well, spring, etc. as it was done in the old country, in East Central Alberta, water was typically blessed in a wooden or steel tub (or *tseber*) inside the church[6] (ie. where it was warm). However, in the few areas where the local church was located on or by a river/lake, this service was conducted at the river.[7] For example:

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[1] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[2] Anne Faryna, Interview #1.

[3] Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants confirmed this.

[6] John Chillibecki, Interview #2, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[7] Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

" Tak iak tam v Cookville, na river-i, tam ie mist, tuda iak sia iide do Radway Centre. . .To tam khodyly tuda, bo tam bulo blyz'ko tserkvy, blyz'ko riky. I tam khodyly sviatyty vodu na riku. Rubaly taku polonku, lid, i tam dobuly vodu i tam sviatyly, i zvidty braly vodu sobi do domu. "[1]

" Take for example there in Cookeville, on the river there, there's a bridge in that direction as you are travelling toward Radway Centre. . . There they went because the church was near the river. There they went to bless the water on the river. A hole was cut in the ice, and the water was blessed there, and people used to draw their water from there to take home. "

Just as in the old country, every person attending mass on *Iordan* took with them a small container with which they used to collect their holy water (usually a pint size jar).[2] And again, just as in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, the rush by parishioners toward the blessed water carried over during the period under review.[3] Each person wanted to be the first to take some holy water because there was a belief that whoever was the first to draw that blessed water - that person had greater happiness and/or good fortune in the new year.[4] Further, this fortune was heightened if one collected a piece of blessed wax which dripped into the water during the blessing.[5] For example:

" A to zhinky bizhut' batliamy, z sloikamy tam. . .A sviashchennyk posvityv v tim tsebryku vodu, a vony pkhaiut' ruky z batleiu tu vodu by zhe nabraty vody. . .Argghh!. . .Ta by chykaly za poriedkom iakos', aby tam sypaly iemu abo shos'. . .ale no! "[6]

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[1] John Hrynchyshyn, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1, Anne Faryna, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[4] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[5] Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1.

[6] John Chillibecki, Interview #2. Freely translated by the writer.

> " And the women used to run up with their bottles, their jars. . .And when the priest blessed the water in that tub, and they used to stick in their hands with their bottles to take some water. . .Argghh!. . .If they could only wait their turn, and have someone pour it in for them. . .but no! "

Further:

> " Tam ieden buv takyi sho shos' vin vorozhyv, ale ne znaiu sho. . .Vzhe prynesut toi tseber vody u tserkvi, i to vzhe prystupaiut bo to ksondz vzhe svitut. . .a vzhe tam. . .aby vin pershyi vody nabrav. . .Nu, a shos' vin znav koly vin sia tak do toho der aby nabrav! "[1]

> " There was this one man who was superstitious about this, but I don't know what it was. . .When that tub of water was brought into church, and the congregation drew towards it because the priest was blessing it . . .he was already there. . .so that he could be the first one to draw that [blessed] water. . .Well, he must have known something the way he tore into that crowd to be the first one! "

Following the church service and the blessing of the water on *Iordan* , everyone went home. At home, each family member was encouraged to take a sip of this holy water brought back from church (either from the jar directly, or poured into a pail of water and then that water from the pail was drunk).[2] A few families sprinkled themselves with this holy water (instead of drinking it).[3] It was believed, that by drinking this blessed water (or being sprinkled by it), one would be protected from any serious illness, or any physical, economic and/or other type of catastrophe in the coming year. Further, if any of these conditions did set in, this ritual helped in clearing anything up faster.[4] For example:

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[1] Mary Romaniuk, Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

[2] Katherine Kubin, Interview #1, and, Walter Romaniuk, Interview #1. Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Op. cit., p. 77.

[3] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[4] Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1.

" A ia kazhu. . .IA svoii bidy vidhaniala z khaty!. . .Kropyla svoiu khatu! "[1]

" I tell you. . .I used to chase away my own troubles away from my home!. . .I used to bless my home [with the water]. . ."

Further:

" Kazhut'. . .SHCHo zlyi dukh boitsia sviachenoi vody. . ."[2]

" It is said. . .That an evil spirit fears holy water. . ."

There was also a belief of washing one's hands and face with that holy water for the purpose of preserving and/or enhancing one's beauty in the New Year as well[3] (which was similar to the New Year's Day practice of washing from a vessel filled with moneyed water). After taking part in these ritual activities following the church service, the rest of the day of *Iordan* was spent socializing.* Socializing meant that either families received visitors and/or went out to visit family and/or friends. Contentwise, these private socials were like those socials which took place during *Pylypivka* , during *sviata* , on Sundays, or at any time of the year when time and circumstances permitted. Again, the activities participated in included: talking, singing, playing instruments, telling tales and/or stories, joking, eating, drinking, playing cards, playing games, etc.

For all intents and purposes, *Iordan* (proper) was the last day of the winter holiday period, however, throughout the day of *Iordan* (proper) following the church service, and throughout the days immediately afterwards, the circuit priest attempted to visit each of the farming households within the parish for the annual blessing of the home.* When the priest came to a home, he usually came with a cantor known as a " diak " (who was also usually the driver). The *diak* sang in accompaniment to the priest's blessing of the family's living quarters (ie. all of the rooms). It was believed, that by blessing the household, the family, as well as the family home, was protected from any potential evils and/or catastrophes in the upcoming year.[1] As well, it chased away any evil spirits from the house which were already there[2], that is, " . . .shchoby povyhaniaty zli dukhy! " (. . .to chase away any evil spirits!)[3]. The priest's visit, just as it was in the old country, was both anticipated, as well as, intrusive upon the parishioner (ie. with respect to ' hosting ' the priest with refreshment, etc.). The priest was paid for his efforts, and every effort was made by each parishioner to donate and host as their circumstances allowed.** Quite often, the priest was unable to visit each and every household (usually as a result of the weather), however, the residents of the homes which did not receive their annual visit - blessed their own houses with the holy water brought from church on *Iordan* .***

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[1] Velma Letwin, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.
[2] Anne Faryna, Interview #1. Freely translated by the writer.
[3] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.
*All of the informants mentioned this.

St. John's Day, which was observed in the old country on the 20th of January immediately following *Iordan* , was not re-established as an observance among the Ukrainian farming families of East Central Alberta

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*All of the informants mentioned that the circuit priest came around to their homes on or after *Iordan* to bless their families and their living quarters. Woodsworth, Op. cit., p. 118 confirms this.

[1] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, and, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, Frances Gunderson, Interview #1.

[3] Nancy Rurka, Interview #1.

**All of the informants mentioned this.

***All of the informants mentioned this.

following the initial period of homesteading. The day itself however, was vaguely remembered.[1] If circumstances allowed, the day was observed as another Sunday[2] (and literally was observed as a Sunday if *Iordan* fell on a weekend).[3] A few notable events occured on this day whether it was observed as a holiday or not. Normal and heavy work and/or labour+ resumed for all members of the family.[4] St. John's Day also marked the first day following the winter holiday season where the religious greeting " Slava Isusu KHrystu. . .Slava na viky " (Glory be to Jesus Christ . . .Glory be forever) was said in lieu of the Christmas greeting " KHrystos razhdaiet'sia. . .Slavite IEho (Christ is born. . .Let us glorify him).* This day also marked the resumption of the community-wide participation in public displays of dancing and the celebration of certain family festivities (namely weddings). Predictably, community organized events, dances and merriments commenced following this date.** And finally, this day could have also been observed as someone's name-day.

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[1] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, and, William Chillibecki, Interview #1.

[2] Lloyd Kostash, Interview #1, Sofia Gara, Interview #1, Harry Chillibecki, Interview #1, Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1, and, Anne Fedoruk, Interview #1.

[3] Velma Letwin, Interview #1.

+All of the informants specifically noted that throughout the winter holiday season, only feast days themselves were observed and treated as *sviata* . The remainder of the days in between the *sviata* were treated and spent normally work-wise.

[4] Peter Chillibecki, Interview #1.

*All of the informants mentioned this.

**All of the informants mentioned that typically, the first dances and/or socials started on the first Saturday following *Iordan* and were held at either the school, store, or community hall (when they were built).

Plate 6: A feather-tearing *toloka* in progress (*derty piria*). Gaging from the women's dress, this photograph is from the 1950's. Nonetheless, *toloky* were actively participated in East Central Alberta during the period under review. (Feather Bees in Home reproduced in Mundare and District Historical Society, Memories of Mundare (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980), p. 151.

Plate 7: A winter carnival queen (circa - 1933). Many of the young men and women in the Borshchiw area participated in the *predstavlennia* , choirs, and other activities sponsored by the church and/or community organizations. Many of these activities/ practices were scheduled through *Pylypivka* . (From the private collection of Anne Faryna, Holden, Alberta)

Plate 8: The annual Christmas Concert at the Warwick School (circa - 1941). (From the private collection of Anne Fedoruk, Mundare, Alberta)

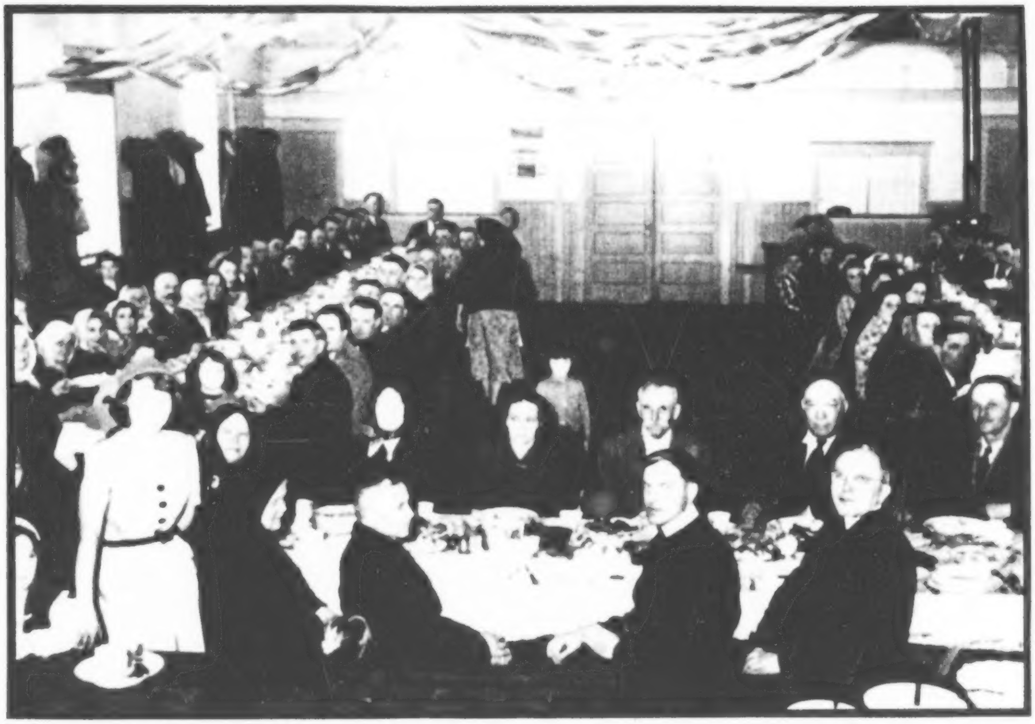

Plate 9: A *praznyk* at the Borshchiw Church. Gaging from the style of dress, this photograph is from the 1940's. Church *praznyks* in East Central Alberta became institutionalized events hosted by the church's auxilliary association(s) and were primarily intended for the membership of the parish. (From the private collection of Walter Romaniuk, Holden, Alberta)

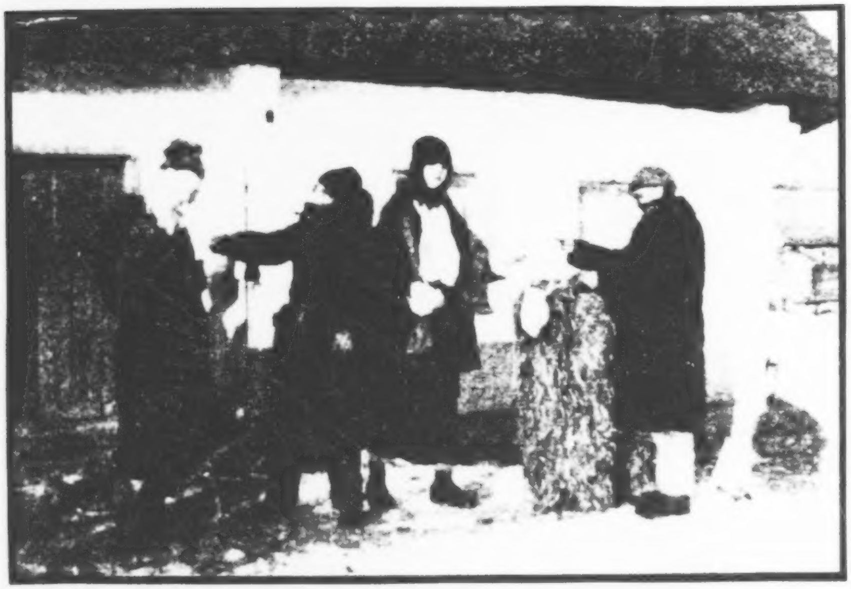

Plate 10: Carolling with a *koza* in the Vegreville area (circa - 1920). (Ukrainian Christmas Pageant reproduced in Vegreville and District Historical Society, Vegreville in Review (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980), p. 1014.

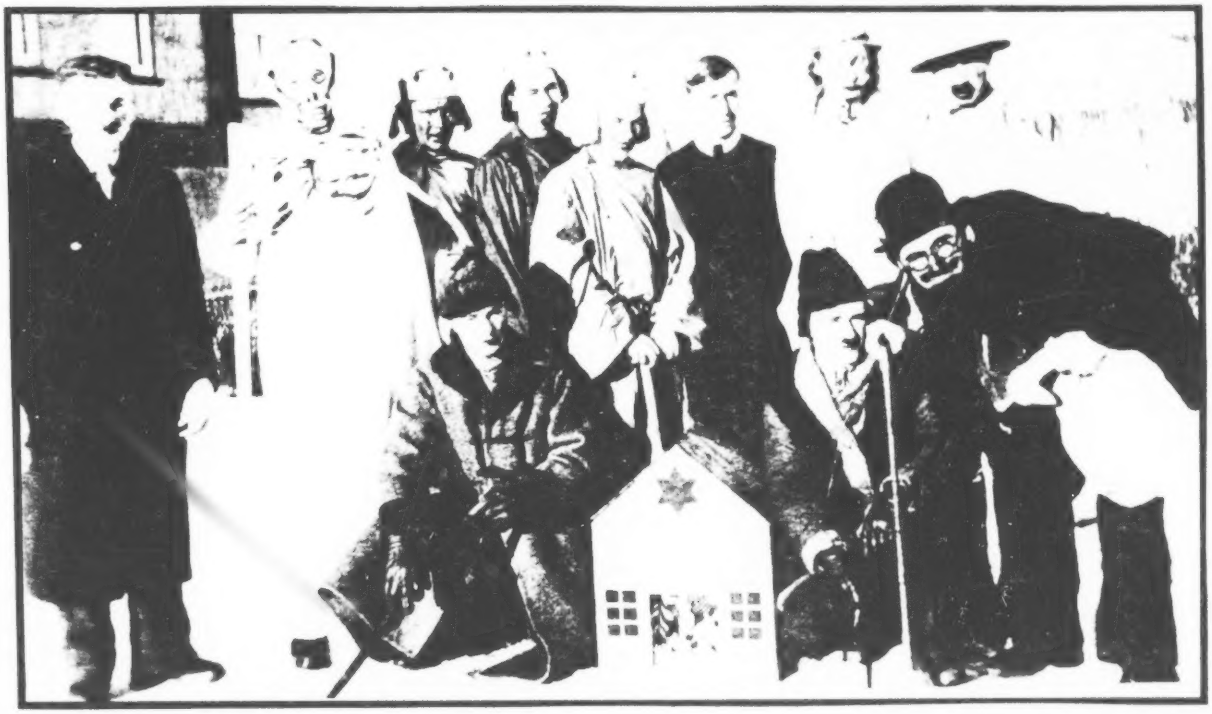

Plate 11: A *vertep* troupe in the Mundare area. Gaging from the style of dress, this photograph is from the 1940's. (Christmas Carollers reproduced in Mundare and District Historical Society, Memories of Mundare (Calgary: Friesen Printers, 1980), p. 52.

Plate 12: *Koliadnyky* . Gaging from the style of dress, this photograph is from the 1950's. Nonetheless, organized house to house *koliaduvannia* (note the carolling primers) was actively participated in within the Ukrainian communities of East Central Alberta during the period under review. (From the private collection of Velma Letwin, Lamont, Alberta)

CHAPTER FIVE

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO CULTURAL TRANSPOSITION

This chapter examines the scope and nature of General Systems Analysis as it applies to the transposition and evolution of Ukrainian Christmas Traditions in East Central Alberta. This task is accomplished in two phases. First, the principles of General Systems Theory (as they apply to social systems) are described. Second, the described principles are applied to the case studies presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Each of these phases are discussed in the following sections.

Overview of Systems Theory

As an analytical framework, Systems Theory offers a way of looking at and thinking about selected aspects of social reality by providing a " map " (so to speak) which can be superimposed upon selected social events, thereby, outlining the relationship of the social elements with respect to context, interaction, pluralism and perspective.[1] It provides terminology for the examination of the relationships between various social elements and its deductive approach allows the user to identify, describe, analyze and compare changes which are observed on the basis of knowledge of those structures and their interactions with their environments. Essentially, Systems Theory is a tool which provides its user a set of guidelines for interpretting observed social phenomena.[2]

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[1] Ralph E. Anderson and Irl E. Carter, Human Behaviour in the Social Environment, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974), p. 9.

[2] Cortes, Fernando, et al., Systems Analysis for Social Scientists, (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974), p. 5.

Structure, function, and response constitute the basic concepts of systems language. All social activity takes place under certain structural arrangements of systems responding to their environments, which, in turn, determine the course of activities that these systems participate in. While the structures themselves cannot be observed, their behaviours, functions and activities can be observed. The term " System " itself, is a theoretical construct which asserts that within a social context, given a set of social elements (ie. individuals, families, groups, etc.) or their interactions, a system is constituted which is not only identifiable, but can be isolated in a manner which would facilitate its examination and comparison with other defined systems.[1] The term " Structure " is a conceptualization which explains the various interactions of the system, that is to say, the observable social reality. It is characterized as an ordered set of interconnected operations which are performed by the elements making up a given system. The dimensions of a system's structure are its incoming and outgoing information paths which are known as " Input " and " Output " respectively.[2] The term " Function " describes the process whereby the system transforms its inputs of information from its environment into outputs of information back into the environment (ie. how it interprets, evaluates and makes decisions on the information that it receives). The dimension of a system's function is its processing information path which is known as " Throughput ".[3] The term " Response " describes that observable reaction that a system displays following the integration of inputs that it has received from its environment.[1] To encapsulate:

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[1] Cortes, Fernando, et al., Op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Cortes, Fernando, et al., Op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[3] Ibid.

> " If the manner in which a system tranforms inputs into outputs is known, the response of a system to different imputs can be studied. Systems respond to the variations in their external environment that enter the systems as inputs. Systems transform something into something, and the results of their operation(s) depend upon both their structure and history of their environment. The same system responds differently to different inputs. The reponse of a system is the output that the system yields given a particular history of inputs. "[2]

The Systems approach then, is essentially a strategy of inquiry which treats the subject of " organized entities " in paradigm form. Its holistic approach conceptualizes organization in terms of relationships, which can be studied by examining the system's structure. As a result, the underlying fundamental premise in using the Systems approach is an assumption that social reality consists primarily of relationships among relationships, that is to say, it conceptualizes social interaction along logical relational terms.[3]

Generically, there are three types of systems:[4]

1. Closed (Mechanical-Chemical) - the least complex. Here the interrelationships among its parts are based upon the transfers of pure physical energy. This is the most stable, controlled system type.

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[1] Cortes, Fernando, et al., Op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[2] Cortes, Fernando, et al., Op. cit., p. 10.

[3] Richard A. Ball, " Sociology and General Systems Theory " in The American Sociologist Vol. 13 (February 1978), pp. 65-66.

[4] George Ritzer, Contemporary Sociological Theory (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983), p. 270.

2. Organic - where the inter-relationships among its parts are based partly upon transfers of pure physical energy and partly upon an exchange of information with its environment.

3. Open (Socio-Cultural) - the most complex. Here the inter-relationships among its parts are dependent almost entirely on the exchange of information within given environments. This is the least stable, uncontrolled system type.

The degree of openness within a system is directly related to its tendency to use up or build up its energy. This tendency is defined by the following concepts:[1]

1. Entropy - the tendency for systems to run down, that is, to decrease its efficiency in utilizing its energy

2. Negentropy - the tendency for systems to build up and elaborate their structures, that is, to multiply their energy

Closed systems then, tend to be entropic whereas open systems tend to be negentropic. Further, by these definitions, socio-cultural systems are open and negentropic because they have the ability to build up their resources (that is, their energy) through the exchanges they have with their environments. Socio-cultural systems also have an element of tension built into them which is purposeful and goal directed because it creates within systems the ability to interpret and integrate information and feedback from their environment(s).[2]

Social systems function as a result of the transfer of energy between themselves and their environments. While the term " Energy " can be defined as either caloric or thermal, in social systems it is defined as the system's capacity for action (or reaction), the action itself (or its maintenance), and/or the power to effect change (within itself and/or its environment).[1] As a result, when information enters a particular [social] system, the system uses that information to mobilize itself in response to that information. System action therefore, can be examined as this movement of information (and the resultant energy it produces) within a given system, and also between that system and its environment (which also contains other systems). Energy within social systems can be derived from a number of sources - both internally from its own resources and externally from its environment. Internally, it can be obtained from the physical capabilities of its members, their loyalty, shared sentiments and commonly held values, while externally, it can be obtained from new ideas, available resources, physical circumstances and added manpower.[2]

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[1] Ritzer, Op. cit., p. 270.

[2] Ritzer, Op. cit., pp. 270-271.

If there are no environmental constraints acting upon (a) social system(s), social systems tend to evolve toward greater complexity and organization. As a result, they need to have increasing amounts of energy available to them. The absorption of new ideas and information and a system's continual adaptation to its environment indicate its negentropy, however, rigidity and the maintenance of defensive mechanisms which stifle a system's ability to adapt to its environment (or knowingly ignore it) indicate its entropy. Systems therefore, require energy to evolve and distribute that energy into purposeful activity. Predictably, the lack of energy will cause a system to devolve.[1]

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[1] Anderson and Carter, Op. cit., p. 10.
[2] Ibid.

Organization is another key concept of the Systems Approach. " Organization " is defined as the grouping and arrangement of a system's components/elements and their energies to form an entity, which puts that entity into efficient working order.[2] Organization secures, expends, and conserves a particular system's energy to maintain and further its aims. For social systems specifically, it pertains to its interelationship and the degree of impact that its constituent components have upon each other. The higher the organization of a [social] system, the more interdependent are its components. As a result, what is affected in one constituent part becomes crucial for the other components as well. Conversely, the lower the organization, the more likely its components will be independent and autonomous. The measure of the effectiveness of a system's organization therefore, is its capacity to enable the most efficient fulfilment of that particular system's goals, as well as, the goals of its constituent parts - while at the same time being able to secure additional energy from its environment.[3] Disorder, lack of order or insufficient organization produces the inefficient expansion and distribution of a system's energy and results in entropic tendencies and system defeating behaviour. Possible reasons for system disorganization include the following:[4]

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[1] Anderson and Carter, Op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Anderson and Carter, Op. cit., p. 16.

[4] Ibid.

1. The goals of one or more components are oppositional to the system's goals;
2. Disrupted and/or unclear system organization;
3. The energy available from within the system is not sufficient to meet the demands on the system;
4. The system is not capable of obtaining additional energy from its environment; and/or,
5. Pressures from the environment are exercising a disorganizing influence on the system itself

As a result, energy and the efficient organization of energy are the prime characteristics of social systems.

Socio-cultural systems function over time. They transform some social conditions or processes that take place over time into other conditions or processes that likewise take place over time. In effect, it is the variations which occur over time, or within a specific period of time, that systems models explain. It is this notion of change(s) over time that is central to systems analysis.[1] The inputs, states, and outputs of systems change over time, while their structures and functions remain relatively fixed. Specifically, systems transform variable inputs into variable states and variable states into variable outputs by rather invariant means. That is to say, that at any given moment, systems are both maintaining themselves, as well as, changing. Periodically however, new social institutions, new social norms, new environmental circumstances, and/or new internal situations appear which can affect the system's make up. These events in turn, can either strengthen or weaken the system.[1]

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[1] Cortes, Fernando et al. Op. cit., pp. 10-11.

The term " Diachrony " refers to the state of a system's structure and function, or in other words, its particular way of doing things over time. Therefore, given a particular diachrony (or way of doing things), systems transform the dynamics of some social processes (or inputs) into the dynamics of some other social processes (or outputs).[2] The term " Synchrony " refers to the changes occuring in the actual structure and function of a system, effecting therefore, the way in which that system transforms social processes at a specific point in time. A synchronic change then, because it changes the structure and function of a system, results in a change of the system itself.[3] Predictably, diachonic changes produce a new synchrony within systems.

At any given time, a system is both in synchrony and in diachrony. The balance between change and maintenance may shift drastically toward one pole or the other in terms of the openness or closeness of the system. When a system is in balance with respect to its ability to maintain and change itself, it is said to be in a " Steady State ". The system is maintaining a viable relationship with its component parts as well as with its environment. Further, its functions are being performed in a way which ensures its continued existence.[4] That is, it is organized, negentropic, synchronous, and in a balance whose limits are quite variable and responsive to its environment. The concept of steady state also incorporates two other definitions within its consideration. A system can also be in " Equilibrium " if its steady state is delicately balanced within very narrow and fixed limits[1], or, a system can also be in " Homeostasis " if its steady state is within somewhat more variable balance than it is in equilibrium. Logically, these three types of systems balance assert that systems can undergo rather extreme changes in order to survive and maintain themselves.[2] System balance also utilizes two additional concepts with respect to systems maintenance. The term " Morphostasis " refers to those processes which help a system to maintain itself. The term " Morphogenesis " refers to those processes which help a system to change.[3] It follows then, that all systems maintain a shifting balance between the status quo (or morphostasis) and change (or morphogenesis).

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[1] Cortes, Fernando et al. Op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Anderson, Op. cit., pp. 15-18.

Social systems need stress and disturbance in order to survive and thrive. As a result, energy interchange with its environment is essential for its existence. In order to identify itself as being distinct from its environment, a system must have some sort of limits or boundaries. The term " Boundary " is defined as that area located where the intensity of the energy interchange is greater on one side of a certain point than it is on the other, or, greater among certain units than among others. The intensity of energy transfer between units within a boundary is greater than the intensity of exchange across its boundary. In social systems, boundaries can be identified only by observing the interactions of the parts within a system versus the interaction of the system as a whole and its environment. Boundaries can be either visible or invisible, subtle or obvious. Further, it is neccessary to distinguish between the location of a boundary and its nature. Boundary does not neccessarily mean barrier. A social system may have a readily identifiable boundary, and yet be very open. On the other hand, boundaries may be difficult to identify because the interchange occuring across them is frequent and intense.[1]

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[1] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 19.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

When two (or more) systems exchange energy across their boundaries, they are said to be " Linked ". Linkage may be limited and serve only a peripheral purpose, or, it can be a vital neccessity for the survival of the system. Reciprocal transfers of energy and/or exchange is present in virtually all linkage.[2]

The components of a system are logically related to each other in various ways. These include:

1. Hierarchy - in which the various parts are ranked in the order in which the energy is distributed or assigned to them;
2. Power - in which some parts are controlled by others with respect to access of resources, or by regulating its communication(s);
3. Authority - in which some parts of the system serve as sources of sanction and approval; and,

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[1] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 21.
[2] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 22.

4. Sequence - in which some parts are ordered in terms of the timing and order in which events occur. Some events and/or functions must occur before others can (or be seen to) occur

" Differentiation " is the division and assignment of different functions to different components within a system. " Specialization " is the further stipulation that only specific parts will perform those specific functions that no other part performs.[1] Differentiation can apply to any of a large number of different aspects of system functioning. As a social system becomes more complex, it becomes neccessary to differentiate functions, however, differentiation can be reversed if the conditions governing it change. The level of differentiation within a social system depends upon the stage of its development. As a social system becomes increasingly differentiatied, at some point, a need arises to reintegrate and re-establish communication(s) between the differentiated parts. The more differentiation that occurs, the more internal exchange of energy/information is neccessary.[2] As with differentiation, specialization is needed within social systems to perform certain functions. Certain constraints also arise with specialization as they do with differentiation. As activities become increasingly specialized, the specialists become increasingly dependant upon the products of other specialists - and linkage within (a) given system(s) becomes increasingly important.[3]

The transfer of energy/information is essential to a system as its organization depends upon the effectiveness of its communication.

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[1] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 24.
[2] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 25.
[3] Ibid.

" Communication " is defined as that transfer of energy and/or information which accomplishes system goals vital to system survival. The effect of communication depends upon the context in which it occurs. Systems develop various means by which they send and receive information. The term " Feedback " describes the primary means by which systems accomplish self-direction/correction and the attainment/fulfilment of their goals. It is the echo heard by the system from the environment in response to its own actions. The system as a result, adjusts, adapts and/or changes to further its aims and survive within its environment.[1] " Adaptation " is that adjustment made by the system to feedback (or to a lesser extent, by the environment in response to the system). Adaptation can take on any of the following forms:[2]

1. Assimilation - the total acceptance of the incoming information without any change on the system;
2. Accomodation - the modification of the system's structure in response to the incoming information; and,
3. Rejection of the feedback

Feedback is an essential aspect of the Systems Approach since it allows the observer of a (particular) social phenomenom to deal with friction, growth, evolution, and sudden changes within a social system in process-response terms.[3] Feedback is key to interpretting the self-governing adjustments made by a (social) system. Positive feedback sustains and encourages the system's existing response tendencies. Negative feedback on the other hand, initiates and provides the integration and/or reintegration neccessary for the system to correct itself.[1]

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[1] Anderson, Op. cit., p. 26.
[2] Anderson, Op. cit., pp. 27-28.
[3] Ritzer, Op. cit., p. 271.

As social systems develop and grow more complex, mediating processes emerge to intervene between the external forces acting upon the system and the system itself. Some of these mediating processes help the system to maintain itself, while others help it to change. As the system grows, the mediator tends to become increasingly independent, autonomous, and a determinative element of the actions of the system. The mediator, in effect, helps the social system to grow less dependent on the environment. Mediators allow the system to either adjust temporarily to external conditions, direct the system from harsher to more congenial enrivonments and/or allow the system to reorganize component parts in order to be able to deal with the environment more effectively.[2]

To summarize, Systems Theory concerns itself with the relations, adjustments, and integrations within and between various identified components, systems and environments. A system changes, develops and evolves as a result of the input, throughput (ie. the processing and integration) and output of information and/or energy from within the system or from its environment, and, in response to its own feedack. There are three types of systems: closed, organic (ie. semi-open/semi-closed) and open. The more open a system is, the better it is able to respond selectively to a larger range of incoming information and/or energies. Boundaries mark the interface between systems allowing them to selectively accept and/or reject any incoming information, energy or feedback. The key to understanding the systems process lies in identifying and interpretting the activities of systems as they respond to their environment(s). Systems can develop toward entropy or negentropy. Socio-cultural systems (ie. open systems) tend to be negentropic. There is tension built into them, and they also tend to be goal oriented and self-directing. Further, they are able to interpret and respond to their own feedback. In the process of integrating the incoming information (ie. throughput), a system's mediating mechanisms will either contribute toward morphostasis or morpogenesis through temporary or permanent adjustments to any external or internal conditions, reorganizations, acceptances, alterations/modifications, or, rejections of the environment. The degree to which systems are organized and how well they communicate determines how well they are able to maintain themselves and achieve their goals.

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[1] Ball, Op. cit., p. 70.

[2] Ritzer, Op. cit., p. 271.

Systems analysis is a dynamic-transactional-tracing orientation which allows for the retrospective analysis of contact, interpretation, growth, and evolution of a socio-cultural system by observing the exchange(s) and evaluation(s) of information across boundaries, and subsequently, has built into it a recognition of the process of transmission within and between its own components. To use Systems Theory as a viable analytical tool, the specification of a focal system (or component part) and environment is neccessary. Only after these entities have been identified, can their relationships be studied. (For a scheme outlining the Systems theoretical approach in paradigm form see Diagram 13. For a scheme outlining the Social Systems Process see Diagram 14.)

The application of systems analysis to the case studies presented earlier in this study (describing the transposition of Ukrainian Christmas observances to East Central Alberta) follows.

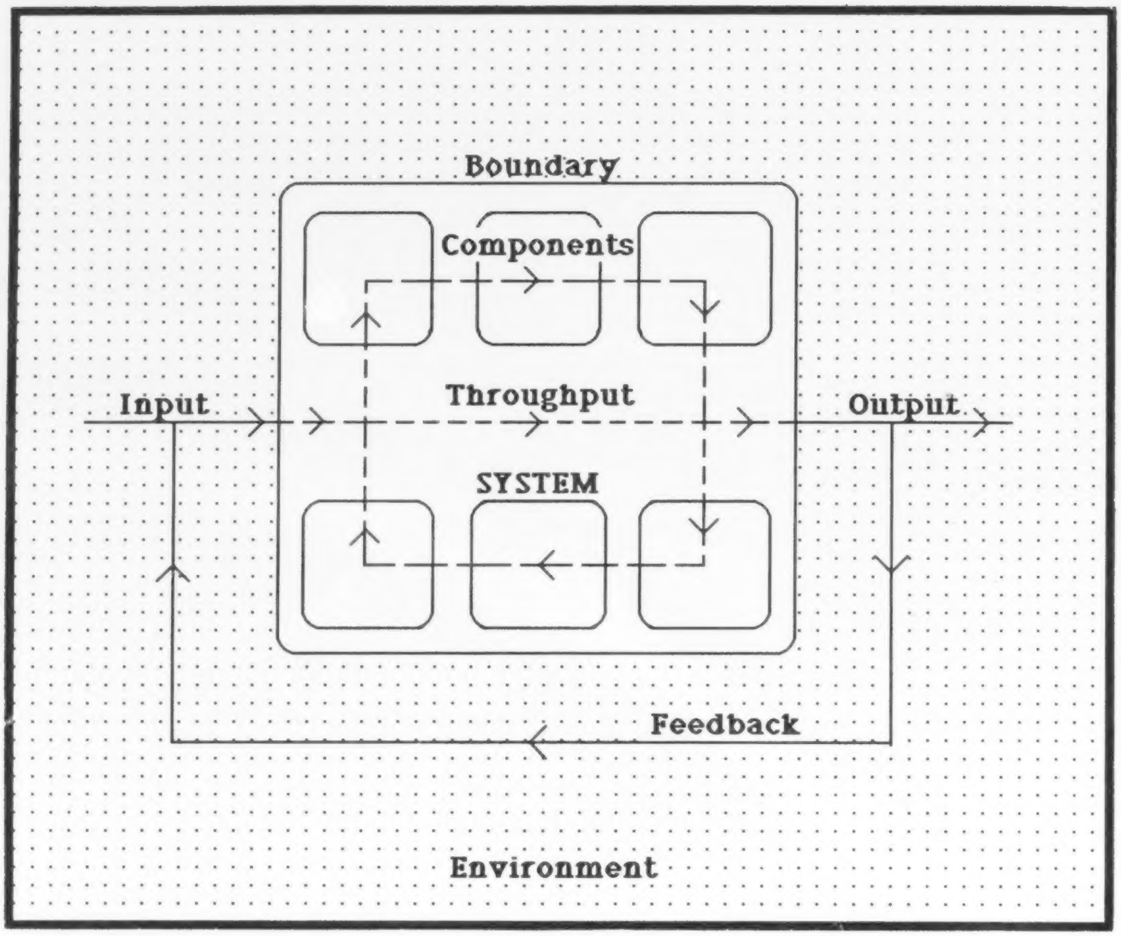
Boundary
Components
Input
Throughput
Output
SYSTEM
Feedback
Environment

Diagram 13: THE SYSTEMS PROCESS

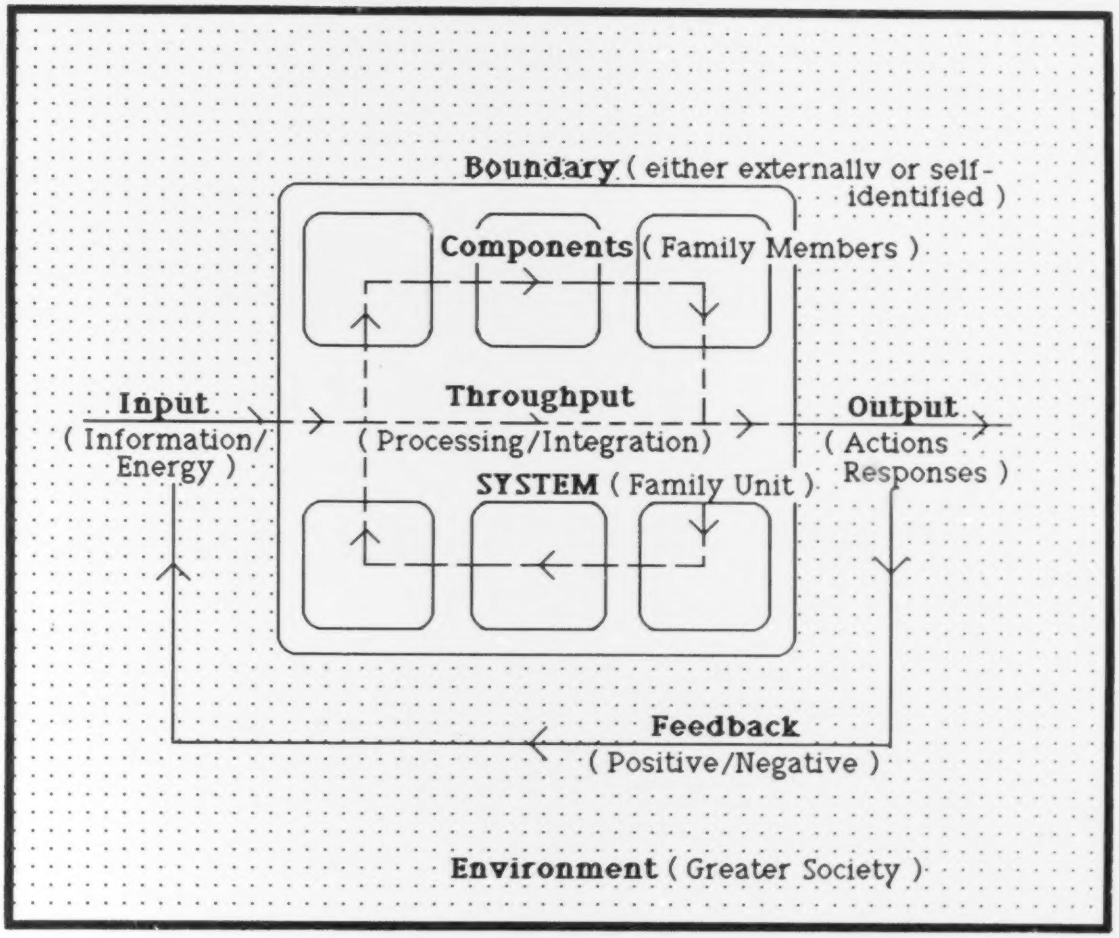
Boundary (either externallv or self-identified)
Components (Family Members)
Input (Information/ Energy)
Throughput (Processing/Integration)
Output (Actions Responses)
SYSTEM (Family Unit)
Feedback (Positive/Negative)
Environment (Greater Society)

Diagram 14: THE SOCIAL* SYSTEMS PROCESS

* Note that the focal system, its components, boundary, and environment are identified. As well, the input, throughput, output and feed back loop are clarified.

Applying Systems Theory to the Transposition of Ukrainian Christmas Observances in East Central Alberta

> " Despite the differences between the old and the new, it is important to note that the latter are always at least partially related to the older. . .It is this Old Country folklore complex which provides the material for formulating the New Country ethnic folklore complex. . . The [older] extracts are combined with environmental features. . .These new folkloric manifestations depart not only from the traditional by virtue of their increasingly acculturated forms, styles, contexts, and contents, but perhaps more fundamentally, they have replaced the old multi-functional diversity with a single, basic function devoted almost exclusively to the expression and transmission of ethnic distinctiveness. "[1]

The information which was provided by the immigrant pioneers described a multi-layered, rich, active and diverse observance and celebration of both the preparatory period of *Pylypivka* , as well as, the winter holidays periods of *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* within the native village areas of Chortkiv and Sniatyn. The close proximity of neighbouring homes, the familiarity of local residents/extended family members, known climatic and geographical conditions and the existence of a supportive institutional infrastructure (ie. religious, educational, social, and community) all served to promote and maintain the varied domestic and social/community aspects of the Winter Cycle observances - both spontaneous and organized. During the preparatory period of *Pylypivka* , there were accepted and adhered to practices for fasting and diet, winterizing preparations for the household/holdings, and socialization and procedures/formats for regularly observed religious feast and/or holy days. During the winter holiday season, family and social activities associated with *Sviatyi Vechir* , *Rizdvo* , *Malanka* , *Novyi Rik* , *SHCHedryi Vechir* and *Iordan* existed, which contemporaneously reflected the religious feast and/or holy day celebrations and observances. In addition, the village observances during *Pylypivka* and the winter holiday season, complete with all of the oral repertoires which accompanied them, were subsequently and systematically passed on from the elder members of the village community to the younger members via an informally existing social network of known spontaneous events (ie. the *Andreia* beliefs and practices, the secular *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* and the various celebratory activities associated with carolling and *Malanka*).

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[1] Robert Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 128-129.

The information which was provided by the immigrant pioneers with respect to the initial homesteading period in the East Central Alberta wilderness described a limited, even constrained, observance and celebration of both the preparatory period of *Pylypivka* , as well as, the winter holiday periods of *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* . New land distribution practices, an early and severe onset of winter, unfamiliar and difficult to traverse terrain, and, the lack of an institutional infrastructure created social/community isolation for each independant homesteading family. These isolative factors promoted the continutation of family oriented/contained observances at the expense of the families' ability to socialize - either with their neighbours and/or with the greater community at large. The early onset of winter in East Central Alberta eliminated the domestic winterizing preparations of one's household associated with *Pylypivka* in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. However, the severity of the climate, combined with the distances between homesteads, effectively eliminated the spontaneous social aspects of both *Pylypivka* and the winter holiday season (ie. the *Andreia* socials, informal *koliaduvannia* and *shchedruvannia* , impromptu visiting, and *Malanka*). As well, the absence of a supportive institutional infrastructure eliminated the regularized activities associated with both the church and the local community. Predictably, family observances became highlighted events of the Ukrainian winter holiday season during the homesteading period. As a result, social observances, by neccessity, had to be planned for and organized in advance.

The information which was provided by the immigrant pioneers and their children with respect to the established farming period in East Central Alberta described an active and diverse observance and celebration of both the preparatory period of *Pylypivka* , as well as, the winter holidays of *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* which was influenced by the increasing affluence of the families themselves and the realities of life on the Western Canadian Prairie (ie. as a result of the existing land distribution/distances between neighbouring farms, climate, establishment of a different institutional infrastructure, and irregularities in the observance of the church celebratory calendar). As a result, many of the old world village Christmas observances were either re-established or modified during this period, while many others were ultimately eliminated following the initial homesteading period. Essentially, it was the regularized religious aspects of *Pylypivka* and the holiday season which disappeared (ie. the celebration of feast days and/or New Year's day by attending a mass in church), as well as, the spontaneous socials and celebrations (ie. associated with *Andreia* , impromptu *koliaduvannia* and *shchedruvannia* , and to a lesser extent *Malanka*). In addition, the specific oral repertoires associated with these various spontaneous celebrations were also eliminated from both the family and social/community observances when they could no longer be passed along by rote.

The ability of the Ukrainians who settled in East Central Alberta to identify, respond to, and exploit the various opportunities for continuing their cultural traditions (that is, those opportunities afforded to them within the harsh environment of homesteading, as well as, when they were prospering on their farms) can be described in systems terms utilizing a systems theoretical framework.[1] Each of the Ukrainian families presented in this study can be viewed as a focal system within the environments of either their native village areas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties, or, the Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta. Specifically, these family units can be considered as open socio-cultural systems. Within the village area(s) of the Old Country, these families' boundaries were identified by the following aspects: language (ie. Ukrainian); religion (ie. Ukrainian Rite in Union with Rome coupled with regular celebrations of services with clergy); poverty; limited education; agriculture as a lifestyle/profession; adherence to known calendar holidays, practices and observances (with respect to the agricultural year, as well as, the religious year); inherited customs and traditions (pertaining to the life cycle, accepted norms and values, etc.); diet; and, dress. Their environment was identified by certain climatic conditions, specific land distribution practices, familiar village and local geography, and economic, political and administrative exploitation by the minority elites.* (See Diagram 15) In East Central Alberta during the initial

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[1] " From Immigrant to Ethnic Folklore " in Klymasz, Op. cit., pp. 122-130, and, Robert Klymasz, " Culture Maintenance in Western Canada " in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., New Soil - Old Roots (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1983), pp. 173-182 offer an alternative " Tri-Partite " theoretical framework which can be utilized to study and interpret the Ukrainian folk cultural experience in Western Canada. Essentially, Klymasz's model (which in turn is a variation of Richard Dorson's Hemispheric or " Old World - New World " model) states that the evolution of the Ukrainian folk cultural complex in Western Canada has proceeded along a rather conventional route marked by a consecutive sequence of three stages. First, there was a resistance to change any aspects of the folk cultural heritage. Second, there was a breakdown of many aspects of the folk culture as a result of change. And third, there was a reconstitution of the folk heritage as a result of adjustment(s) made to change. Indeed, Klymasz's model itself can be discussed utilizing the parameters of synchrony and diachrony within the Systems theoretical approach. See also Anne Sochan, The Application of Systems Analysis to the Study of Ukrainian Folklore in Canada (unpublished paper). W. Roman Petryshyn, " The Ukrainian Canadians in Social Transition " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism and Separatism: An Assessment (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1978), pp. 74-96 offers a statistically supported examination of Ukrainian Canadian participation trends within the Canadian mainstream vis-a-vis assimilation trends with respect to language and religious affiliation maintenance. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, " Identity Retention Among Second- and Third-Generation Ukrainians in Canada " in Jaroslav Rozumnyj, ed., New Soil - Old Roots (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1983), pp. 208-221 and " Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Visible Symbols (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), pp. 119-128 offer statistically supported examinations of Ukrainian identity maintenance among second and third generations of urban Ukrainian Canadians. Although the subjects studied in these discussions were

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descendants of the post World War Two Ukrainian immigration to Canada, the findings nonetheless can be reasonably applied to the study of the descendants of the First Wave of Ukrainian immigration presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Roman Onufrijchuk, " Ukrainian Canadian Cultural-Experience-as-Text: Toward a New Strategy " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Visible Symbols (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1984), pp. 142-161, and, " Immigration and Organized Forgetting: Continuity and Change in Systems of meaning " in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Continuity and Change (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988). pp. 2-8 offer yet another alternative theoretical framework which can be utilized to study and interpret the Ukrainian folk cultural experience in Canada. Essentially, Onufrijchuk views the Ukrainian folk cultural experience in Canada as " text " which itself is comprised of three aspects. First, text has to have a meaning, and this meaning is defined by the cultural group itself. Second, text has to be accessed, and it is accessed via membership and facility within the cultural group. Third, text must be dialogued (ie. experienced, lived), and it is dialogued within the cultural community.

*Poles administered the Austrian province of Galicia at the turn of this century. For more information, refer to the previous discussion in " Background " in the Introduction of this study.

homesteading period, these families' boundaries were identified by the following aspects: language (ie. Ukrainian, and a minimal usage of English words and/or phrases); religion (ie. Ukrainian Rite in Union with Rome coupled with, at best, sporadic celebrations of services with clergy); poverty; adoption of agriculture as a lifestyle/profession; minimal adherence to known calendar holidays, practices and observances (with respect to the agricultural year, as well as, the religious year); inherited customs and traditions (pertaining to the life cycle, accepted norms and values, etc.); and, new requirements of diet and dress. This new boundary was formed as a result of the new conditions and constraints arising from surviving in the wilderness of prairie Western Canada which included: new climatic conditions; new land distribution practices creating localized isolated pockets on each homestead; unfamiliar prairie and community geography; and, limited social, political, economic and administrative contact with host Canadians and/or Canadian institutions, as well as, other Ukrainians and/or Ukrainian institutions. (See Diagram 16) Later on, during the established farming period in East Central Alberta, family boundaries were identified by the following aspects: language (ie. Ukrainian, but with increasing usage of English); religion (ie. Ukrainian Rite in Union with Rome coupled with fairly regular celebrations of services with clergy following the establishment of an ecclesiastical centre in Mundare combined with the construction of local churches); increasing affluence; continued participation in agriculture as a lifestyle/profession; modified adherence to known calendar holidays, practices and observances (with respect to the agricultural year, as well as, the religious year); modified adherance to inherited customs and traditions (pertaining to the life cycle, accepted norms and values, etc.); and, adjustment to the new requirements for diet and dress. Family environments were, by this time, identified by certain climatic conditions, specific land distribution practices (which resulted in a form of modified isolation between farms due to the increasing developments of transportation links and accesses - roadways, rail lines, distances between farms, etc.), increasing familiarization with prairie and community geography; and, increasing social, political, economic and administrative participation within the (recently) established Ukrainian and host Canadian institutions and facilities within the bloc settlement area (ie. religious, educational, community, social, etc.) (See Diagram 17) Essentially, in Canada, family boundaries were highly visible/identifiable by others (be they Ukrainian or non-Ukrainian) and, to a lesser extent, became self-identified by the families themselves with respect to their environments (both the immediate primarily Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta, as well as, the greater primarily Anglo-Celtic host society of prairie Western Canada as a whole).

From their earliest settlement within the prairie wilderness of East Central Alberta, Ukrainian families were negentropic systems which were able to mobilize themselves to take in the information from their environment(s) (ie. input), interpret that information for their purpose(s) (ie. throughput) and respond to that information to further their goal(s) (ie. output). As well, they were also able to respond to their feedback mechanisms. Responding to both positive and negative inputs and/or feedback from their surrounding prairie environment, the Ukrainian socio-cultural family system was able to absorb, adjust, and adapt to the new conditions, constraints and influences acting upon its day to day life.

As an effectively organized (and differentiated) social system, the homesteading family was able to not only survive, but was able to successfully adapt its village lifestyle to Western Canada - and eventually prospered. Its family members (ie. components) had the capacity and willingness to work together towards attaining their desired goal(s) of establishing a better lifestyle for themselves[1], and, were able to actually utilize those various environmental resources to assist, indeed further, those goal(s) (ie. increased their energy). In addition, Ukrainian families became increasingly interactive within their immediate (primarily Ukrainian) local rural communities, that is, with respect to the various recently established religious, educational, community, social, economic and political institutions and/or organizations of both Ukrainian and host Canadian origins. The families' efforts were purposeful and goal directed in order to survive and prosper in East Central Alberta, as well as, to subsequently re-establish, maintain, modify, pass on and/or eliminate various aspects of their Ukrainian heritage - of which Christmas observances were a part. Predictably, the Ukrainian immigrant families were successful in establishing a unique and distinct ethnic lifestyle within the larger Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta to which it was linked.

The Ukrainian Christmas observances (that is, their transposition, practice, evolution and transmission), as practiced during the homesteading and subsequently during the farming periods in East Central Alberta, were somewhat changed from the practices known and followed in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. In a sense (albeit in a Skinnerian sense), the evolution and observance of Ukrainian Christmas customs and traditions in Canada essentially represent those stimulus-response reactional phenomena experienced by the immigrant Ukrainian families in their attempt(s) to re-establish their ages-old village lifestyle within the virgin wilderness, and subsequently, within the emerging farming communities of East Central Alberta. Predictably, new norms, values, structures, institutions and expectations were established, which were constrained by new isolative geographic environments, new climatic conditions and new social/community realities. As a result, the inter-relationship(s) of not only the families themselves, but the families and their communities, were affected with respect to their mutual common survival, as well as, their ability to observe the Ukrainian Christmas holiday traditions. These inter-relational phenomena can be explained using the systems concepts of synchrony and diachrony. The new environment in East Central Alberta effected change(s) within the Ukrainian family's structure and function (ie. its diachrony) in ways which enabled it to adapt/modify its familiar traditional village folkways to fit within their new unfamiliar wilderness/rural surroundings (ie. established a new synchrony). In addition to the interpretations offered by examining the aspects of systems synchrony and diachrony, the family system's actions and responses can also be illustrated utilizing the concepts of information input(s) and feedback. Actually, this sequencing can be specified via the utilization of the input-throughput-output-feedback model. During the initial period of homesteading, the inability to participate in many of the peripheral/social Ukrainian Christmas observances can be interpretted as resulting in morphostatic behaviour (ie. system maintaining/survival behaviour), whereas, during the farming period of adaptation/modification of those same cultural observances, morphogenic behaviour was exhibited (ie. system changing/growing behaviour). It was during this morphogenic period that most of the changes with respect to the observance of Ukrainian Christmas customs, traditions, practices and/or beliefs were either (re-) established, modified confirmed and/or eliminated from a family system's cultural repertoire to suit the new environmental conditions/constraints of East Central Alberta. Essentially, the Ukrainian Christmas observances in East Central Alberta evolved into forms which became increasingly familial yet increasingly socially organized versions of the village observances known and practiced in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. Once entrenched by the family systems, and supported by the various religious and secular institutions (re-) established within the rural Ukrainian bloc settlement communities of East Central Alberta (ie. within the environment), much of the traditional village Christmas observance repertoire was maintained, indeed thrived, in a relatively stable steady-state until the Second World War.*

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[1] See also Petryshyn, Op. cit., p. 75.

Retention of the Ukrainian language, native religious affiliation, and, farming as an occupation, in combination with a practice of marriage within the ethnic group, and, residence within a primarily rural Ukrainian bloc settlement area (inherent with its supportive institutional infrastructure) were all factors which facilitated both the transposition and subsequent inter-generational transmission of a significant number of the Ukrainian village Christmas observances (albeit in a modified form) by the Ukrainian families presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four.[1] However, despite these enabling factors, the new (and often harsh) environment of East Central Alberta (with respect to climate, terrain, land subdivision, accessability and relative social isolation, and to a lesser extent, alienation by the host Anglo-Celtic society) effected changes in that transposition and subsequent inter-generational transmission of those same observances by changing them into increasingly familial, increasingly socially organized, and, increasingly tangible observances.[2] Over the homesteading and farming periods reviewed, the Ukrainian Christmas observances were progressively divested and/or devolved of their oral and socially spontaneous aspects.[3] (To a lesser extent, this divestment/devolution also affected many of the regular religious practices requiring the clergy)

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*All of the informants mentioned that the Second World War was a watershed event which affected their views, priorities, as well as, their abilities to adhere to their rural, Ukrainian, Julian Calendar celebrations.

The Ukrainian immigrant family system's observance of the Ukrainian Christmas customs, traditions, beliefs and practices in the predominantly Ukrainian bloc settlement area of East Central Alberta has evolved/changed from village roots, through the homesteading period, and, subsequently through the established farming period primarily as a result of the following conditions/constraints of the Canadian Western

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[1] This is substantiated by Petryshyn, Op. cit., pp. 83, 92-95, as well as by Isajiw, " Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity ", Op. cit., pp. 119-120, 122.

[2] Isajiw, Op. cit., p. 127-128 confirms that with each successive generation in Canada, Ukrainians increasingly compartmentalize and objectify their heritage so as to retain those aspects which are practical and convenient to observe within the conditions/constraints existing at the time.

[3] For another discussion of the impact that isolation, climate, distance and the lack of familiar institutions had on the First Wave Ukrainian settlers on the Western Prairie, see Onufrijchuk, " Immigration and Organized Forgetting " Op. cit., pp. 5-7.

Prairie environment (refer also to Chapters Three and Four for more detailed descriptions of these environments): a harsh winter climate; large distances between neighbours; varying origins and subsequent co-locations of the Ukrainians settlers themselves within the immediate rural community locales; and, in the earlier years, a lack of religious, educational, community, commercial and/or social facilities combined with the inability to travel easily via non-existant roads and/or rail links. During the homesteading, and subsequently, during the farming periods reviewed in Chapters Three and Four, the effects on the actual Christmas observances were primarily manifested by the elimination of the various spontaneous social/community aspects of *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* and *Iordan* (namely, the *Andreia* socials, house to house *koliaduvannia* on *Sviatyi Vechir* and house to house *shchedruvannia* on *SHCHedryi Vechir*), as well as, the subsequent elimination of the various oral aspects of those same socials - which were traditionally transmitted by rote from older members of the community (ie. those who ' knew ' the various oral repertoires of the *Andreia* practices and superstitious beliefs, the secular *koliadky* and secular *shchedrivky* texts) to the younger members of the community (ie. those who ' learned '). Changes were also manifested in those *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* observances associated with regularized religious services and/or theological instruction/ rationalization/guidance. As a result, many of the religious aspects of *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* were either eliminated, secularly rationalized with respect to their modification and/or were sporadically observed at best (namely, attending regular Sunday masses and feast day services, the neccessity of observing a punitively restrictive diet during *Pylypivka* , modification of the *Sviata Vechera* and *SHCHedra*

Vechera menus, and, the neccessity of the annual blessing of the home by the clergy). Concurrently, during their experiences in establishing their farms, as well as, their local communities in East Central Alberta, the Ukrainian immigrant families also had to contend with the adjustment of living within a rural society populated with Ukrainian families whose origins differed from their own native village areas, as well as, those who were of non-Ukrainian origin (or for that matter, of non-Eastern European origin). These influences predictably affected the social/ community aspects of many of the Christmas observances (for example, *Malanka* was observed differently by the Bukovynians than by the Galicians, while the celebration of *zasivannia* was not shared with non-Ukrainians). To compensate for the various eliminations and/or modifications of the spontaneous and social aspects (including the religious aspects) resulting from the isolative conditions/constraints of the prairie East Central Alberta environment, those same isolative characteristics contributed to the increased institutionalization of the Ukrainian family system's social observances associated with the Ukrainian Winter Cycle/ Christmas customs, traditions, beliefs and practices. While in the old country most socials were of a primarily spontaneous nature, in East Central Alberta those same socials became planned for events (namely, *toloky* , *praznyks* , neighbourly visits during *Pylypivka* , visits during *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* , organizing *koliaduvannia* groups through the local church and/or community organizations, pre-arranging *zasivannia* with neighbours, scheduling masses at the local church, etc.). Essentially as a result, the Ukrainian Christmas observances in East Central Alberta by the end of the established farming period became increasingly nuclear family oriented, that is to say, the familial aspects of the Winter Cycle observances underwent very little change from what was observed in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (with respect to the beliefs and practices associated with the celebration of namedays, *Sviatyi Vechir* , *SHCHedryi Vechir* , and, to a lesser extent, with the practices associated with *Malanka* and *Novyi Rik*). On the other hand, the social aspects became increasingly planned, organized and regulated events, that is to say, socializing and community involvement underwent the most change/ modification from what was known in Chortkiv and Sniatyn (with respect to the school concerts, church attendance, church/community events, *koliaduvannia* , *toloky* , visiting during *Pylypivka* , *Rizdvo* , *Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* , and to a lesser extent, neighbourly *Malanka* and *zasivannia* practices). Socials (whether they were shared with one's extended family, neighbours and/or with the local church parish community) which in Chortkiv and Sniatyn were taken for granted, became highlighted events in East Central Alberta during any season, and particularly during the winter holiday season when the isolating factors of the distances involved to travel combined with the typically severe weather conditions were most keenly felt. Logically and quite obviously - most gatherings had to be planned for accordingly.

In summary, the Ukrainian immigant family systems in East Central Alberta, with their inherent folkloric repertoire of Christmas observances from Chortkiv and Sniatyn, responded and adapted to the environmental conditions/constraints which influenced and subsequently affected their day to day lives by increasingly familializing their traditional village customs, practices and beliefs, while concurrently increasingly formalizing their social/religious/community experiences throughout both the homesteading and farming periods reviewed in this study. By the time most of the Ukrainian families began to prosper on their farms, most aspects of their Christmas observances had been accomodated to fit within the geographic, climatic, economic and social realities of rural life on the Western Canadian Prairie. The greater distances between neighbours than was the case in either Chortkiv and Sniatyn, a harsher continental winter climate than was experienced in Western Ukraine, a diverse Ukrainian-origin population among the immigrants themselves which was interspersed with non-Ukrainians of primarily Anglo-Celtic origins, and a less influential religious hierarchical presence than was known in the old country - all contributed to the maintenance of most of the family focused customs, traditions, beliefs and practices (ie. *Sviata Vechera* and *Rizdvo* observances, *SHCHedra Vechera* and *Iordan* observances, and to a lesser extent, *Malanka* and *zasivannia* practices).* On the other hand, the social/community focused observances underwent considerable institutionalizing change (ie. religious, community, neighbourly and extended family events). Systems paradigms illustrating the inter-relationships between the Ukrainian family system and its environment in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, and subsequently, the changes in those inter-relationships which occured as a result of the homesteading and farming experiences follow in Diagrams 15 through 17.

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*As well, language maintenace and marriage within the same ethnic and religious affiliations contributed to the continuation of familial observances.

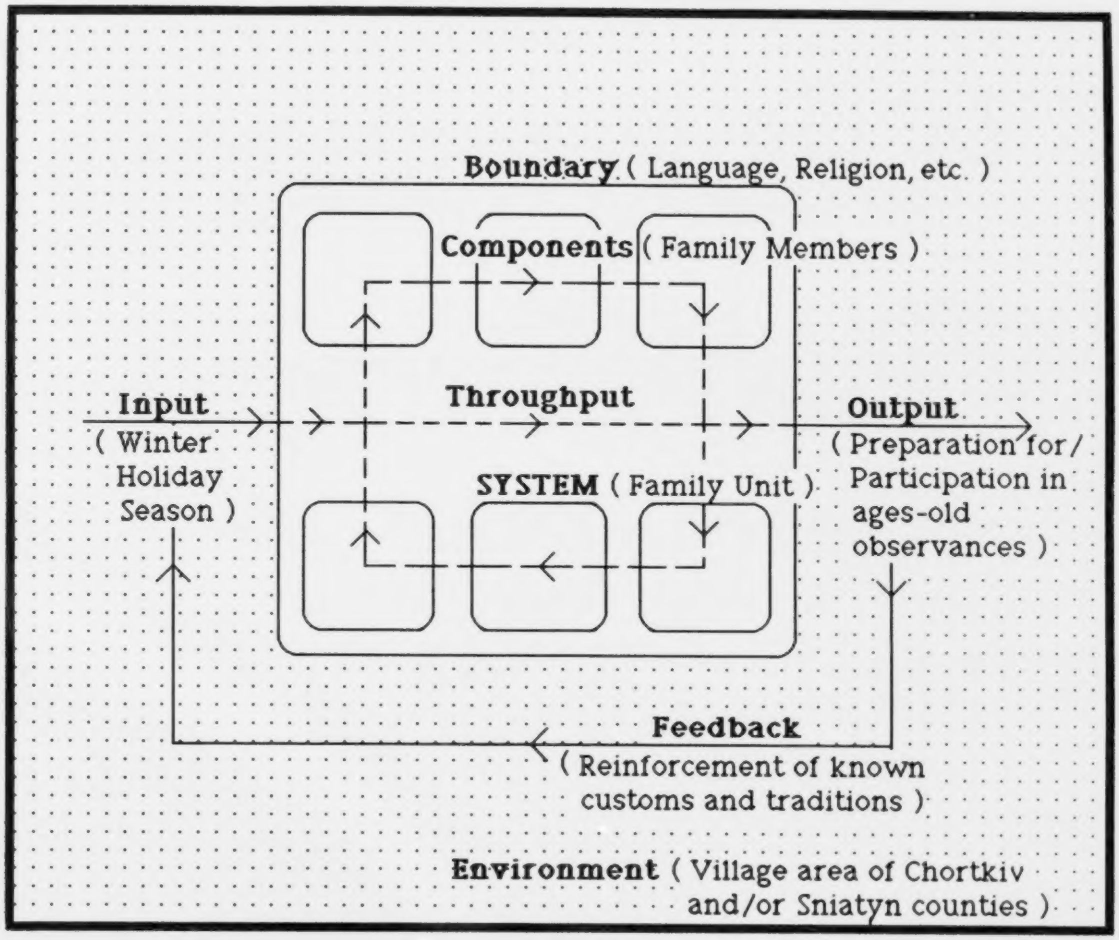
Boundary (Language, Religion, etc.)
Components (Family Members)
Input
(Winter Holiday Season)
Throughput
Output
(Preparation for/ Participation in ages-old observances)
SYSTEM (Family Unit)
Feedback
(Reinforcement of known customs and traditions)
Environment (Village area of Chortkiv and/or Sniatyn counties)

Diagram 15: THE VILLAGE SYSTEMS PROCESS

Within the villages of Chortkiv and Sniatyn, family boundaries were identified not only by language and religion, but also by their poverty, limited education, farming as an occupation, adherence to known calendar, religious, life cycle and social observances (including Christmas observances), diet and dress. Their environments were identified by certain climatic conditions, specific land distribution practices, familiar geography and economic, political and administrative expoitation by minority elites.

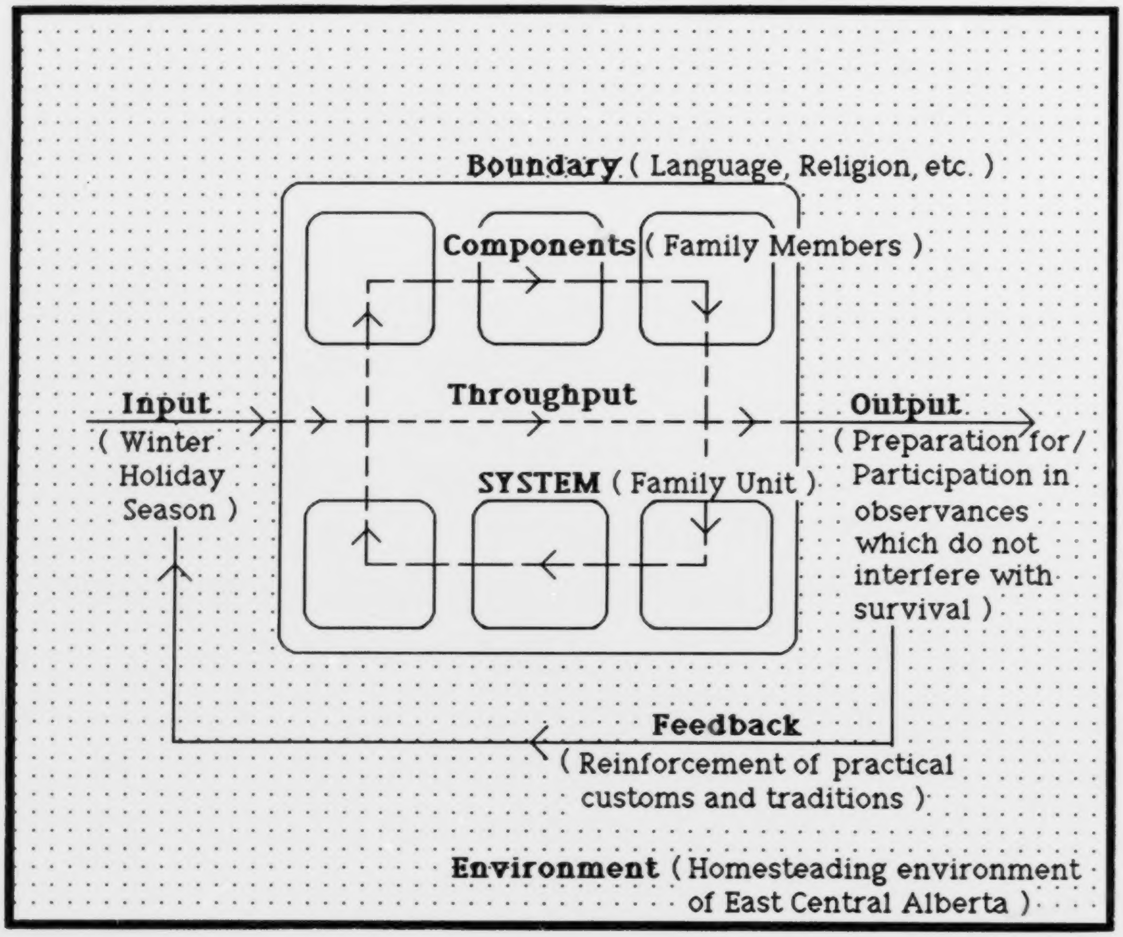
Boundary (Language, Religion, etc.)
Components (Family Members)
Throughput
Input
(Winter Holiday Season)
Output
(Preparation for/ Participation in observances which do not interfere with survival)
SYSTEM (Family Unit)
Feedback
(Reinforcement of practical customs and traditions)
Environment (Homesteading environment of East Central Alberta)

Diagram 16: THE HOMESTEADING SYSTEMS PROCESS

Within the homesteads of East Central Alberta, family boundaries were identified not only by language and religion, but also by their poverty, farming as an occupation, minimal adherence to known calendar, religious, life cycle and social observances (including Christmas observances), and new requirements of diet and dress. Their environments were identified by new climatic conditions, new land distribution practices, unfamiliar geography and limited economic, political and administrative contact with established/host Canadians.

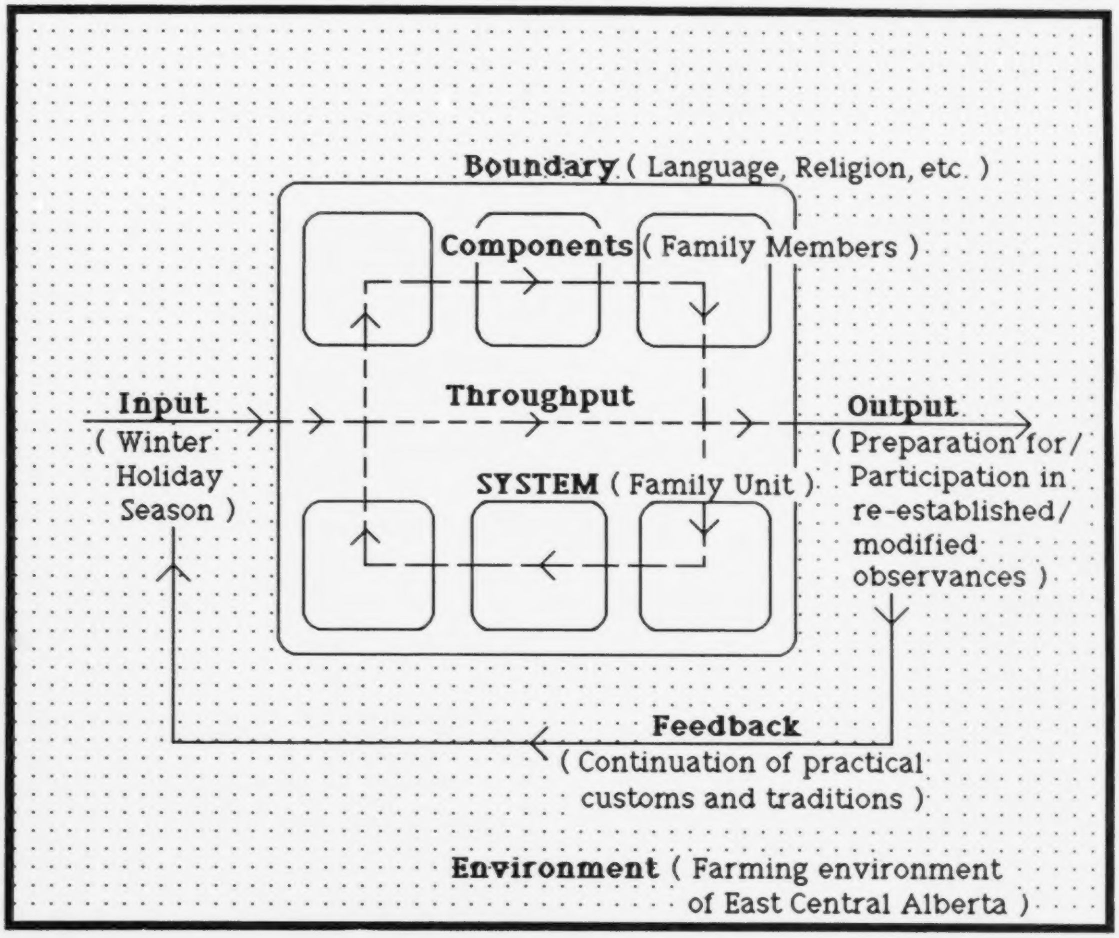
Boundary (Language, Religion, etc.)
Components (Family Members)
Input
(Winter Holiday Season)
Throughput
Output
(Preparation for/ Participation in re-established/ modified observances)
SYSTEM (Family Unit)
Feedback
(Continuation of practical customs and traditions)
Environment (Farming environment of East Central Alberta)

Diagram 17: THE FARMING SYSTEMS PROCESS

During the established farming period in East Central Alberta, family boundaries were identified not only by language and religion, but also by their increasing affluence, farming as an occupation, modified adherence to known calendar, religious, life cycle and social observances (including Christmas observances), and adjustment to the new requirements of diet and dress. Their environments were identified by certain climatic conditions, specific land distribution practices, familiar geography and increasing economic, political and administrative participation within their own ethnic and established host Canadian instutions.

EPILOGUE

The Ukrainians who emigrated from Austrian administered Galicia at the turn of this century prior to the commencement of the First World War (ie. as members of the First Wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada), did so with an inherited legacy of customs, traditions, practices and beliefs - of which Christmas observances were a vital part. Many of these immigrants settled in the predominantly Ukrainian bloc settlement area within East Central Alberta and were subsequently able to transpose their Ukrainian heritage to Canada. Indeed, they were also able to transmit that heritage to their succeeding generations born in Canada. This study focused on the domestic and community observances of Ukrainian Winter Calendar Customs associated with Advent (ie. *Pylypivka*), Christmas (ie. *Rizdvo*), New Year's (ie. *Novyi Rik*) and the Feast of Jordan (ie. *Iordan*) within five families whose oldest surviving members were part of the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants who came to this area prior to the outbreak of the First World War. The developments in the celebration and observance of these particular calendar customs were traced within these family lines from their native village areas in Chortkiv and Sniatyn, as well as, through the homesteading and farming periods in East Central Alberta. The evolution of Ukrainian Christmas observances was described and discussed with respect to their continuation, modification and/or elimination within their given families' repertoires (See descriptions and discussions in Chapters Two, Three and Four). As well, socio-historic contextual information, which was shared by the family members interviewed of personal experiences, views and interpretations, provided valuable insight(s) with respect to the evolution of their lives in Western Canada, but also offer possible explanations/interpretations to account for the trends observed in transplanting their Ukrainian heritage, and subsequently, the inter-generational transmission of that heritage within their families. A Case Study approach was used in presenting the information in this study. The five family histories presented are representative of the family systems and community life left behind in Chortkiv and Sniatyn counties of turn of the century Austrian administered Western Ukraine, and, are also representative of the family systems and community life of East Central Alberta.

In researching the available literature, it was found that no scholarly work existed which described and/or analyzed the inter-generational transmission of Ukrainian observances in Canada (of either life-cycle or calendar customs). There were however, a number of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian language turn of the century resources, which were relevant as comparative examples to the examination of Ukrainian Christmas observances in Chortkiv and Sniatyn. There were also a number of Ukrainian language interwar period resources, which were relevant as comparative examples for the examination of Ukrainian Christmas observances in East Central Alberta during the homesteading and established farming periods. As well, there were a number of Ukrainian and English language Canadian resources, which were utilized as relevant comparative examples for the review of Ukrainian Christmas observances in Canada. In addition, a number of contemporary Ukrainian language references provided valuable folkloric, anthropological and historic information with respect to the evolution of Ukrainian Christmas observances from pre-Christian times to the present. And finally, a number of

English language references in Sociology, Anthropology, and, Religious Studies provided supportive comparative information for this study in the analysis of the evolution of Ukrainian Christmas observances from its roots in Chortkiv and Sniatyn to its development in East Central Alberta during the homesteading and farming periods.

In examining the transposition and subsequent evolution of Ukrainian Christmas observances from Chortkiv and Sniatyn to East Central Alberta since the turn of this century, a Systems theoretical framework was found to be a useful and applicable analytical tool. Its retrospective nature - which focuses on the relationship(s)/interaction(s) between an identified social system and its environment - is appropriate to the study at hand[1] (See previous discussion " Applying Systems Theory to the Transposition of Ukrainian Christmas Observances in East Central Alberta " in this chapter). The descriptions of the Ukrainian Christmas observances provided by the Ukrainian families surveyed both in their native village areas of Chortkiv and Sniatyn, as well as, subsequently during the initial homesteading and (established) farming periods in East Central Alberta can be discussed in terms of Ukrainian family systems interacting with their environment(s). It was observed, that in the process of transposing and subsequently transmitting one's Ukrainian Christmas observances to the younger generations born in East Central Alberta during the periods reviewed, those observances became increasingly familial, while at the same time, became increasingly socially organized (including the religious aspects connected with these observances). As well, in the continuity and changes of those observances the oral aspects were almost completely divested.[1]

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[1] For an interesting comparative turn of the century sociological study which focuses on immigrant socialization in the United States, see William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984). While the study at hand discusses the primarily rural lifestyle(s) of Ukrainian Canadians both in the old country and in Canada, Thomas and Znaniecki's study offers a description and analysis of urban Polish American life, which followed a rather difficult route of transition from their previous old country, primarily rural, lifestyle. Linda Degh, People in the Tobacco Belt (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series Paper #4, 1975) offers another comparative folk study model which focuses on rural immigrant socialization in post-World War II Central Canada. Degh's study provides both the interviews, as well as, the analyses of those interviews which recount the life histories and experiences of four Hungarian Canadian informants who reside within the tobacco farming areas of southwestern Ontario.

All in all, despite the elimination of many aspects of the Ukrainian Winter Cycle observances in East Central Alberta, many aspects were re-established intact (primarily the family oriented practices and beliefs) or modified to suit the new environmental realities of the Western Canadian Prairie (primarily the social/community oriented practices and beliefs).[2] This cultural response of adaptation and change in Canada can be summed up by the following statement offered by one of the immigrant Ukrainian informants in that " . . .Inshyi krai - Inshyi zvychai. . ."[1], that is, ". . .in a different country there are different customs. . ." However, it was important for those families interviewed to carry on with their Ukrainian Christmas observances to the best of their abilities and capabilities - for their own enjoyment, as well as, for their children - to maintain that sense of who they are and what their heritage is.* In other words:

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[1] See also G. James Patterson, The Romanians of Saskatchewan (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series Paper #23, 1977) for a cursory historical and cultural survey focusing on the Romanian immigration to Western Canada at the turn of this century. Of note, is the inclusion of a short description of the Romanians in the Boian district of East Central Alberta - who were oftern referred to by the informants within this study as ". . .those Rumuny (literally - those Romanians). Many of the descriptions support the data provided by the informants of this study with respect to homesteading/farming conditions, the importance of establishing a regularized religious presence within the colony and the annual participation in New Year's mumming (ie. *Malanka*).

[2] Perhaps the most applicable comparative reference to the study at hand is Marida Hollos, " Families Through Three Generation in Bekevar " in Robert Blumstock, ed., Bekevar: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series Paper #31, 1979), pp. 65-126. The information obtained from surveying turn of the century immigrant Hungarians to Saskatchewan and their descendants provides abundant corroboration and many supporting examples to the observations, descriptions and discussions presented in the study at hand with respect to Ukrainian Canadians in East Central Alberta. Of particular interest are the immigrant generation's experiences with homesteading, marriage and the establishment of a community/institutional infrastructure reminiscent of the old country, and, the second generation's experiences with farming, increasing affluence, marriage and the maintenance/continuation of a

> " IAk idesh des' daleko u svit i koly beresh dity z soboiu, to musysh braty takozh i tserkvu i koliadu i velykden', bo shcho zh vony robytymut' bez nykh? Zdychiut'! "[2]

> " When you go out into the world and when you take your children with you, you also have to take your church, your Christmas and your Easter . . .because what will they [ie. the children] do without them? They will become wild! "

Hungarian lifestyle in rural Saskatchewan. As well, cursory descriptions of selected cultural practices are included (ie. with respect to diet, Christmas and Easter traditions, and, the importance of religion and language in their day to day lives).

[1] John Hrynchyshyn Interview #6. Freely translated by the writer.

*All of the informants emphasized these points. They treasured their Ukrainian Christmas customs and traditions.

[2] Illia Kyriak, Syny Zemli (Sons of the Soil) Vol. I, (Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1973), p. 234.

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APPENDICES

INFORMANTS

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Chillibecki, Mr. John. Age 93. Vegreville Auxilliary Hospital, Vegreville, Alberta. Four interviews: November 1985 - April 1986. D. July 1986.

Chillibecki, Mr. Peter. Warwick, Alberta. Two interviews: February 1986. D. February 1988.

Chillibecki, Mr. William. Warwick, Alberta. Two interviews: March 1986.

Chillibecki, Mr. Gregory. Warwick, Alberta. Three interviews: February - March 1986.

Czar, Mrs. Lillian. Edmonton, Alberta. Two interviews: February - March 1986.

Faryna, Mrs. Anne. Holden, Alberta. Three interviews: February - April 1986.

Fedoruk, Mrs. Anne. Mundare, Alberta. Six interviews: January - September 1986.

Gara, Mrs. Sophia. Holden, Alberta. Three interviews: January - February 1986.

Gunderson, Mrs. Frances. Edmonton, Alberta. Three interviews: February - April 1986.

Hrynchyshyn, Mr. Bohdan. Edmonton, Alberta. Two interviews: March 1986.

Hrynchyshyn, Mr. John. Age 98. St. Michael's Nursing Home, Edmonton, Alberta. Six interviews: February - September 1986. D. November 1987.

Kostash, Mr. Dmytro. Age 93. Homestead Senior Citizens Lodge, Vegreville, Alberta. Six interviews: December 1985 - September 1986. D. December 1990.

Kostash, Mr. Lloyd. Vegreville, Alberta. Two interviews: March - April 1986.

Kostash, Mr. Robert. Edmonton, Alberta. Two interviews: April 1986.

Kubin, Mrs. Katherine. Mundare, Alberta. Two interviews: January 1986.

Letwin, Mrs. Velma. Edmonton, Alberta. Four interviews: February - September 1986.

Romaniuk, Mrs. Mary. Age 95. Vegreville Auxilliary Hospital, Vegreville, Alberta. Six interviews: November 1985 - September 1986. D. May 1987.

Romaniuk, Mr. Walter. Holden, Alberta. Six interviews: January - September 1986.

Rurka, Mrs. Nancy. Edmonton, Alberta. Six interviews: January - April 1986. D. March 1991.

Samoil, Mrs. Nancy. Age 94. Homestead Senior Citizens Lodge, Vegreville, Alberta. Six interviews: December 1985 - September 1986.

Shewchuk, Rev. Vladimir. Age 70. St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Shrine, Ottawa, Ontario. One interview: September 1989.

QUESTIONNAIRE

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Christmas (Rizdvo)

1. When did the preprarations/celebrations begin before Christmas?

2. Was Advent (*Pist*) observed? How? Why?

3. In preparing the house for the Christmas festive season, was it important to patch any holes in the walls or furniture? If so, why? Was there a belief that this action would stifle any untoward gossip directed against the family?

4. Were the following feastdays (*sviata*) observed? If so, what are your recollections about them?

   St. Katherine (7 December)
   St. Andrew (13 December)
   St. Barbara (17 December)
   St. Sava (18 December)
   St. Nicholas (19 December)
   St. Spyridon (21 December)

5. Was St. Nicholas' Day a day of celebration, of gift exchange, of home brewing, etc.?

6. Were there any evening parties (*vechernytsi*), especially of young people, during *Pist*? If so, what are your recollections about them?

7. How long did the Christmas period last? Dates?

8. What preparations were done on Christmas Eve (*Sviat Vechir*)?

   Was it important to have the house cleaned/the barns cleaned?
   Were certain chores to be completed by this time?
   Were there concurrent activities for all members of the household?
   Was there a certain time by which all " heavy work" ceased?
   When was the food prepared?
   Was a " new fire " prepared to cook the evening meal?

9. Was there a belief that *Sviat Vechir* should be celebrated in a peaceful and tranquil environment ie. without argument? If so, why?

10. Was there an effort made to convey a sense of prosperity during *Sviat Vechir* in food and decoration? If so, why?

11. How many dishes were prepared for the evening meal on *Sviat Vechir*? Twelve? Were there any requisite dishes? What was prepared? By whom? Recipes?

    Kutia (poppy seed and wheat)
    Borshcht/with *Ushka* (beet soup/with mushroom stuffed dumplings)
    Kolachi (braided egg loaf)
    Varennyky/Pyrohy (stuffed dumplings)
    Holubtsi (cabbage rolls)
    Fish
    Peas
    Beans
    Cabbage/Sauerkraut
    Potatoes
    Buckwheat
    Millet
    Bread
    Salad/Other vegetables
    Uzvar (dried fruit compote)
    Pampushky (stuffed doughnuts)
    Sweets
    etc.

12. What was the Christmas Eve evening meal called? *Sviata Vecheria*? *Bahata Kutia*?

13. Did family members fast on *Sviat Vechir* prior to the evening meal? Why/Why not?

14. Was/Were a " Didukh ", " Did " or " Baba " brought into the house on *Sviat Vechir*? If so, why? By whom? Were there any accompanying phrases, chants or songs? Texts?

15. What were the *Didukh, Did* or *Baba* made of? Where was/were they placed in the home? Was anything placed in/among them?

in the corner of the room (*pokuttia*)
with an embroidered towel (*rushnyk*)
with anything metal ie. an axe, etc.
with food ie. candy, nuts, money, etc.
with pieces of coal, garlic, etc.

16. Were all family members to be together on *Sviat Vechir*? Was there a belief that if they were not present, that they would wander all year? Did the same apply to all the livestock in the barns?

17. Did one invite those to share the Christmas Eve evening meal who did not or could not make their own supper? Were guests at this meal considered lucky?

18. Who set the table? Were extra place settings set? If so, why?

19. When did the family sit down to the *Sviata Vecheria*? Were the children encouraged to watch for the first evening star? Was the person who spotted the first evening star considered lucky? Were there alternate reasons to encourage the children to perform this task?

20. Prior to the evening meal, were the children encouraged to sit at the table and imitate animal sounds? If so, why? Were these imitations encouraged because it was believed that their performance would promote fertility and/or prosperity for the owner's livestock and family? Texts?

21. Prior to the evening meal, did the head of the household invite all " Hazards ", " Natural Elements " or " Evil Spirits " in for the meal? If so, was there a belief that if these entities did not come in to enjoy the meal, it meant that they would not interfere with the farming operations in the coming year?

22. Was a communal prayer or grace (*molytva*) said before the family sat down to the *Sviata Vecheria*? Who led the prayer?

23. Was the *kutia* flung to the ceiling before everyone started to eat? If so, why? How were the results interpretted?

24. Was conversation allowed during the meal? Was alchohol allowed at the table? Was a liquid used to wash down the meal? If someone coughed or sneezed during the meal, was this considered to be good luck?

25. Did the head of the household play any table games with the children (ie. hide behind the *varennyky/pyrohy, kolach, didukh,* etc.)? If so, why?

26. Were the dishes etc. washed and put away immediately after the meal? If not, why? If so, were there any alternate actions?

27. Following the *Sviata Vecheria*, were the children encouraged to take some kutia and/or other foodstuffs from the meal as gifts to their nearest relatives, godparents, neighbours, etc.? If so, why?

28. Was the livestock fed and/or blessed differently on *Sviat Vechir*? If so, why?

29. Was there a belief that livestock had the ability to speak on Christmas Eve? What did it mean if they did or did not speak?

30. On Christmas Eve, was poppy seed (*mak*) sprinkled about the home and farm to ward off evil spirits or witches? If not, were alternate methods used?

31. Were there any after-supper fun and games specifically directed for the children? If so, what are your recollections about them?

32. Was there any fortune telling done on this evening ie. weather beliefs, marriage beliefs, etc.?

33. When did carolling (*koliaduvannia*) begin? Who participated? How was it organized? Were there different types of carols? Texts?

by age group
by gender
by church group/organization
with bells
with a star (*zvizda*)
with a lantern (*likhtar*)

in costume (*koza*)
with the nativity (*vertep*)

34. Was a " Vertep " performed? If so, what was its significance? What was involved in the performance of a *vertep*? Texts?

35. Were there various themes in the content of the carols sung? Is there a difference between " Koliady " and " Koliadky " ? If so, what? Texts?

farming (*khliborobski*)
hunting (*myslyvski*)
fantasy (*kazkovo - fantastychni*)
love (*liubovni*)
wedding (*shliubni*)
religious (*relihiini*)
historical (*istorychni*)

36. Where did the carolling take place ie. on the move? outside the house? inside the home by the doorway? under an icon (*obraz*)? Did the location of the carollers change with the group organized?

37. Were carollers rewarded? If so, how?

38. How long was the carolling season?

39. When did you or your family attend Christmas Mass? Did this ever vary?

40. When did the merry-making and socializing season begin following Christmas? Did it begin with a party on the third day of Christmas (*skladchyny*)? If so, what are your recollections?

41. Were any other celebrations conducted during the Christmas period ie. " Turytsi " or " Kurochyna " ? If so, what are your recollections?

42. Was a New Year's Eve celebration of St. Melanie (*Malanka*) celebrated? If so, what was done? Who participated? Did young women and young men celebrate separately ie. " divocha " versus " parubocha " ? What are your recollections?

43. Was there any fortune telling done on New Year's Eve ie. weather beliefs, marriage beliefs, etc.?

44. Was there a belief that at the stroke of midnight, water turned into wine, or, that whatever one was doing, that is that they would be doing in the upcoming year? If not, were there any other beliefs?

45. Were gun shots ever fired to greet the New Year?

46. Was St. Basil's (*Vasylia*) celebrated on New Year's Day (*Novyi Rik*)? If so, what are your recollections?

47. When did you or your family attend New Year's Mass? Did this ever vary?

48. Was there a belief that if bread was bathed or blessed on New Year's Day, that this action would assist in strengthening the family? If so, why?

49. Was there a belief that if one washed from a water vessel containing a few coins on *Novyi Rik*, that this action would bring the washer good luck, health, beauty or prosperity? If so, why?

50. Was there a belief that the home oven (*pich*) had a holiday ie. a day of rest, on *Novyi Rik*? If so, why?

51. Was the sowing of grain enacted (*zasivannia*) on *Novyi Rik*? If so, what are your recollections? Who participated? When was it performed? How was it organized? What was its purpose? What types of grains or materials were used? Texts?

52. When was the Feast of Jordan celebrated (*Iordan*)? Dates?

53. When was the Eve of the Epiphany (*Shchedryi Vechir*) celebrated? On New Year's Eve? On the eve of *Iordan*?

54. Did *Shchedryi Vechir* observances mimic *Sviat Vechir* observances? If so, how?

55. Was the evening meal on *Shchedryi Vechir* called " Holodna Kutia " or " Hospodnia Kutia " ?

56. When did you or your family attend the Feast of Jordan Mass?

57. Was there anything significant about the mass attended on *Iordan*? If so, what are your recollections? Did the service take place inside the church? By a river? Were any type of ice or man-made crosses erected for the service?

58. Did people come to mass on *Iordan* to collect some blessed water (*sviachenoi vody*)? Were there any beliefs associated with being the first person to take any blessed water?

59. Was the blessed water believed to possess any significant/magical powers? If so, what were they?

60. Did anyone ever immerse themselves into water when celebrating *Iordan*?

61. Was *Iordan* considered to be a dangerous time in that those evil spirits that dwelled in the water were chased out, and therefore, wandered the earth? If so, how could one guard themselves against them?

62. How was the previous year's blessed water used up/disposed of?

63. Was any " lay " blessing on one's house and property done during the period of *Iordan*? If so, what are your recollections?

64. Did the clergy of the church you or your family attended visit your home during the period of *Iordan* with the purpose of blessing it? If so, why was this done? Was there any remuneration to the clergy for this service? Were any areas of the home focused on during the blessing ie. icons, items, etc.? If so, why?

65. Did carolling take place during *Novyi Rik* and/or *Iordan* (*schedruvannia*)? Was it organized and performed along similar lines as *koliaduvannia*?

66. What types of *shchedrivky* were sung? Texts?

67. Was there a belief that the livestock had the ability to speak on *Shchedryi Vechir*? If so, why?

68. Was St. John the Baptist Day (*Ivana Khrestytelia*) considered to be the last day of the Christmas season? Was it on this day that

everyone resumed normal working conditions? If not, when did the Christmas holidays end?

69. Did one attend mass on *Rizdvo, Novyi Rik* and *Iordan*? Did it matter if you did not? Was the opportunity to attend a service always available?

70. Were there any weather beliefs associated with Christmas, New Year's or the Feast of Jordan? If so, what were they? If not, were there any alternate beliefs?

71. How was the *Didukh, Did* or *Baba* disposed of? Were they disposed of? If so, were there any accompanying phrases, chants or songs? Texts?

72. Was there ever any left-over food over the Christmas holidays? How was it disposed of? Was it disposed of? Was it given away to the poor? fed to the livestock? used as fertilizer?

73. Was household trash allowed to accumulate during the Christmas holiday period? If so, why? How was the household trash collected during this period eventually disposed of? Was it burned and the ashes used as fertilizer? Was it disposed of differently?

74. Have the way you celebrated *Rizdvo, Novyi Rik* and *Iordan* changed from when you were a child growing up in one family to when you celebrated with your own family to how your children and grandchildren celebrate? If so, how?

applicability of certain Ukrainian practices in the Canadian environment
language
change of religious affiliation
mixed marriages
importance of maintenance within the family
incorporation of other ethnic practices
societal influences
etc.

75. Were there compulsory days of sviata that accompanied *Rizdvo, Novyi Rik* and *Iordan*? If so, what did they entail? How many were there? Did this ever vary? If so, why?